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The Church Quarterly Review

Edited by Philip Usher.

No. 230. JANUARY 1933 Vol. CXV

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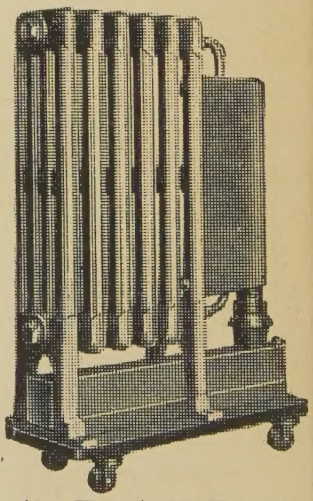

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. CCXX X.—JANUARY 1933

ART. I.—THE GOSPEL OF REMINISCENCE.

A Study of the Historical Character of the Discourses in the Fourth Gospel.

THE historical character of the discourses—have they a historical character? Can the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, in which the Gospel preached to Jerusalem is embodied, be regarded as in any sense historical? This is our question.

I propose, necessarily very briefly, to review the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, and to note the presence of any indications in the substance of the discourses of their historical character.

But I may say, beforehand, that to the question—are the discourses as they stand historical?—the only possible answer is that they are not; and that to the question, How far are the discourses historical? I do not believe that anything like a precise answer can be given, or, from the nature of the case, ever will be given. We are considering, then, this question, not —are the discourses historical? but—what indications do they contain that we have in them any kind of record of discourses actually delivered?

First, it is to be observed that the memory of thoughts and ideas, and the words in which they are expressed, is a very different thing from the memory of facts. An old man's memories, e.g. of the facts and events of his youth, is often singularly vivid and precise, but ideas and thoughts and even

the words in which they are expressed are subject to much more subtle and unconscious change in that succession of mental acts of recalling the past which we speak of as though it were one continuous act of recollection.

What, then, should we expect in reminiscences of teaching written down after a long interval of time, as these reminiscences must necessarily have been, transmuted by their passage through the experiences of a life, in which they have played a vital part, not only the most treasured, but the most essential elements in the memory of the past?

1. We should expect to find the record of a certain number of striking sayings, recalling the actual words that were spoken. Professor Drummond, in dispelling the idea that the characteristic of the Johannine discourses is their length, has collected a large number of short pithy sayings, or apothegms, from the Fourth Gospel. They are sayings of many of which we should be disposed to say, though with very varying degrees of conviction, that they carry in themselves some evidence of their own authenticity. They are jewels of memory, found embedded in the substance of the discourses, whatever may be said of the deposit in which they are enshrined.[1] As instances of sayings which might have more or less of a claim to be so regarded, we may take such as these: "Lift up your eyes and look upon the fields that they are white already to harvest": "Except ye see signs and wonders ye will in no

[1] In estimating the probability that any particular saying attributed to Our Lord was actually spoken by him, we may well make the mistake of applying the wrong test, and consequently allowing our minds to be influenced by what may be described as a synoptic prejudice. We are not asking: Is this such a saying as we find attributed to Our Lord in the Galilean Gospels? Normally and naturally the difference in the moral atmosphere of the mental outlook of those whom he is addressing would not only profoundly affect what he wanted to say, but would also completely change the form of expression that he would use. The question we are asking may be said to be: Are these such words as the Jesus made known to us through the Galilean gospels might use in the entirely different mental and moral conditions of the Johannine story?

wise believe": "Will ye also go away?": "If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink": "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone, but if it die it beareth much fruit." Our claim to regard any of these or such like sayings as authentic utterances of Our Lord is generally based on the application of what, it must be acknowledged, is a subjective test, but it may be observed that, when the storms of criticism have been raging round the Gospel record, no element in the record has remained so free from doubt as certain of the words of Jesus Christ.

2. Next, we should expect to find the preservation of leading thoughts, of points in controversy and lines of argument. We may give as instances—the key thought of life, life as the characteristic gift of God; the argument that the works are their own evidence that they are of God; or, again, that it is because the mind of the Jews is alien from the mind of God, that they do not accept the witness of the works; or, again, that the Divine claim carries with it the dependence of the Son on the Father, and that this prototypal humility is contrasted with Pharisaic pride. We may feel that, in such thoughts as these, we are in contact with the substance of the thoughts to which Our Lord actually gave utterance.

3. We should expect to find that the discourses differ considerably in the degree to which they embody, or are interspersed with, incidental allusions, interruptions, questions, criticisms, to which the discourse gives the answer. These will, naturally, afford a certain degree of presumption that a discourse containing them was actually delivered under the circumstances indicated.

4. Lastly, and on this we must dwell at greater length, it is to be noted that the whole record of our Lord's teaching at Jerusalem reaches us through a human medium, which, partly because of the lapse of time between the giving and the recording of the teaching, has affected, not only the language but, the thought itself, and has led the writer, from time to time, to carry on and expand Our Lord's discourse in what

sometimes do not seem even to profess to be Our Lord's own words.

The modern mind, in its anxiety to get back to the fact as it happened, is apt to allow itself to be influenced by an unconscious prejudice against the transmission of the record through a human medium at all. We need sometimes to be recalled to the consideration set forth by Dr. Brooke (*Cambridge Theological Essays,* 1919, pp. 293-4): "It is even legitimate to doubt whether, if Our Lord had been accompanied throughout his ministry by the receiving instruments of a gramophone and a cinematograph, the records would give a truer portrait of what Our Lord really was. They would need interpretation, and the interpretation which we should put on them might not be more accurate than the interpretation of St. Matthew, St. Luke, or even St. John." Our Lord is manifested to us through what he enabled men to see that he was.

But it is none the less true that one human medium differs from another, and, in estimating the trustworthiness of any particular record, we need to look to the particular character of the mind through which it reaches us. What, then, in the case of the Fourth Gospel, was the human medium? What is the picture of the mind of the Evangelist which his Gospel prompts us to draw?

It is the picture, I think, of a brooding, meditative mind, the mind of a man naturally silent and slow of utterance on the deepest things of life, though simple and spontaneous in his speech of simple things; in whose soul deep thoughts rest and gather force before they find their way into words; dwelling on the significance of great things so that the great words bear to him an infinite meaning, dwelling also on the significance of what, to a less deeply observant temper, seem to be little things, seeing in the small things the infinitely great; intense in thought, intense in feeling, intense in love and hate, with a fire of passion within, which only finds its way out through restrained and difficult channels when it has

reached white heat. That is the personal impression which he leaves. It belongs to such a character to take ideas and truths into the mind so that they become a part of the very self, and only when they have thus been appropriated and absorbed to give them utterance and expression.

Further, the writer is a Jew, above all things a Jew.[1] The movement of thought is Jewish, there is nothing Greek about it. There is no working of the discursive reason which moves from point to point, from premiss to conclusion, in an ordered and traceable process. The thought moves in circles returning over and over again to the same point, the same but with a difference. The progress is spiral, circling round and round the same point, rising higher and higher at each return. Often there is no visible transition, you leave him at one point, you find him at another, or at the same point, as I said, with a difference. He is a Jew of the Jews, and his thought takes Jewish form. He is a Jew struggling to express Jewish thought in the language of the Greeks.

And for this very reason he is not, in the modern sense, historical. The Jew never was. He does not readily go back to the past as it was, and trace the progress from the past to the present, he sees the present in the past, he sees early ideas in the light of their later development.

He is Jewish, again, in his instinctive feeling as to the relation of idea to fact, of the eternal to the things of the time. To the Greek this was a problem, to the Jew it is a matter of course, and to the author of the Fourth Gospel, of all men, this was so; in him this characteristic of the Jew reached its climax. The Jew knew that God made the world and worked in it, fashioning the history and destinies of men. And to the Evangelist God was in the world, and the wonder was, not how man being in the world could attain to God, but how being in the world he could fail to know God. He has a passion for fact just because fact is to him the embodiment of the truth,

[1] *c.f.* Scott Holland, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 71 ff; *Philosophy of Faith and Fourth Gospel*, pp. 159 ff.

"That which was from the beginning, that which we have seen and heard and our hands have handled, declare we unto you." "The Word was made Flesh." The Christian experience to the Evangelist was the experience of Eternity in Fact.

This is the human medium, through which the records of the teaching of Our Lord at Jerusalem profess to have reached us.

If, then, we review the discourses in turn, we may note how far these various elements are present to suggest, behind the record, actual discourses delivered by Our Lord. The points to be observed are these:—

(1) Striking sayings more or less authenticating themselves.

(2) Thoughts or lines of argument characteristic of Our Lord and unlikely to have suggested themselves to anyone else.

(3) The occurrence in the record of incidental allusions, interruptions, questions, etc., tending to authenticate the record.

(4) The characteristic tone of reminiscence as shown in the particular discourse.

Let us look first, in the light of these considerations, at the last discourses to the disciples before the Passion, in which the impression of reminiscence is most obvious.

The most marked feature of these discourses is the Revelation of the Spirit. It is, so far as it goes, a confirmation of the historical truth of these discourses that they should contain such a revelation. The contrast between the faith of the Church before the Synoptic Gospels were written, as evidenced in the earlier Epistles of St. Paul, a faith so full from the beginning of the consciousness of the life of the Spirit, and the teaching of Our Lord in the Synoptic Gospels, from which the very mention of the Spirit is almost entirely absent; this contrast may be said to require that, at some time in Our Lord's dealings with his disciples, there should have been such a revelation of the Spirit as is here recorded.

There is no systematic arrangement of the discourse. The story is the story of a parting, a farewell. The utterances present themselves as reminiscences of what was rather a conversation than a discourse, flowing along and taking its own natural course, following the suggestions of the occasion and the hour, interrupted and diverted now and again by question and reply.

It begins with the thought of the parting: "In my Father's House are many mansions"; "I go to prepare a place for you." Questions from the disciples intervene almost at once, recalling with a fearless frankness how little they understood, e.g. the great saying, "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life" is drawn from him by the complaint of Thomas: "Lord, we know not whither thou goest and how can we know the way"; the illuminating utterance, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," by Philip's pathetically simple request: "Lord, show us the Father and it sufficeth us." In the Coming of the Spirit, the other Paraclete, he would, himself, be coming back to them: "I will not leave you desolate. I will come to you"; and it is the question, "Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself to us and not unto the world?" which draws from him that it is to be an inward manifestation, the indwelling presence of the Father and the Son.

His present teaching is ending now, but the Spirit will teach them all things and bring all things to their remembrance that he has said to them. This seems, at any rate, to involve a claim to actual remembrance. And then follows abruptly a memorable saying, Jewish in its emphasis of rhythmical repetition, "Peace I leave unto you, my Peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth give I unto you," and, in the last words before they leave the room, that saying, which it is difficult to believe had been written, unless it had been actually spoken, "My Father is greater than I."

The discourses on the way to the Garden open with the figure of the vine and the branches. The figure itself and its elaboration to carry the two practical thoughts, the dependence of the branches on the tree — "Apart from me ye can do

nothing" — and the function which they fulfil in the life of the tree—"He that abideth in me and I in him, the same beareth much fruit"—this is in its essential thought, if not in its actual wording as we have it, we may perhaps venture to say, intensely characteristic of Our Lord.

He passes on to the consequence of this union, that his Love should be reproduced in them. "This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you." "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends"—sayings that seem to plead for themselves that they come from the Master.

Once more at the end he harks back to the parting. His saying, "A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me," introduces the matter-of-fact question: "What is this that he saith a little while?" and the puzzled answer: "We cannot tell what he saith"; and both reflect naively their difficulty in apprehending his meaning. And then the last great words, "I came out from the Father, and came into the world," provoke the equally naive confidence of the answer, "Lo, now speakest thou plainly." There seem to be threads of reminiscence throughout.

In the great prayer, opening with the definition of eternal life as the knowledge of the Father, knowledge in the Jewish sense of living communion with God—here, simple reminiscence and interpretative, brooding memory are perhaps more completely fused and intertwined than anywhere else, fused and intertwined beyond our power to disentangle the warp from the woof.

I have spoken of these discourses first because they show best how a strong impression of reminiscence may be combined with a keen sense of the effect on the reminiscence of the mind of him who recalls the memories, and because we have here, in the most convincing form, the confirmation of the impression of reminiscence by the questions and interruptions of the disciples, simple natural records of a childlike want of apprehension, and of a long since bygone attitude of mind. We feel, I think, that in these discourses there are instances of

sayings that almost authenticate themselves, and still more, that we have a record of thoughts and ideas which it is difficult not to refer for their origin to the mind of Our Lord. We may take these results along with us to the consideration of the discourses to the Jews.

The talk with Nicodemus is, perhaps, hardly to be recorded with these, but it demands consideration in connection with them. There is, to start with, an abrupt contrast between Nicodemus' recognition of Our Lord as a Teacher, and his own claim to be the Giver of a new life, or rather his demand, from those who are to enter the Kingdom, that they should enter by the door of a desire for a new life. The abruptness of this contrast is to be noted as characteristic of Our Lord's controversial method—to carry the mind which is approaching him by the wrong road suddenly and *per saltum* to an altogether new point of view.

The figure of the wind was perhaps suggested by the sound of the wind round the house where they were. As he said, "Consider the lilies; Consider the birds," so he might say "Listen to the wind."

As the discourse proceeds, while we feel that we are following natural developments of the thought, we feel also that reminiscence may be playing a less, and the transmitting medium a larger part, in shaping both the language and the thought; and the conclusion of the discourse is a typical instance of teaching in which we hover between two opinions, whether it be even a modified memory or not. We are reluctant, perhaps, to surrender the idea that we have in "God so loved the world" an echo of the words of Our Lord himself.

The story of the talk with the woman of Samaria is full of touches of reminiscence. The natural occasion of the talk, the water of the well, the abrupt thrust at her past life, are both in different ways characteristic of Our Lord. The transition from the new life to the new worship is naturally suggested by the ruins of the temple on Mt. Gerizim. The insistence on the real pre-eminence of the Jew, "We worship that which we know," is difficult to reconcile with an imagined story.

Throughout we are in the atmosphere of fact, though touch after touch suggest expansion or addition.

We pass to the manifestation at the Unknown Feast, which seems to be represented as a deliberate challenge to legal Judaism at its centre and home in Jerusalem. The reference back to the controversy in the story of the Feast of Tabernacles shows that this particular work of healing on the Sabbath is taken to have started the antagonism to Our Lord.

The controversy begins with Our Lord's defence, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." As a defence of healing on the Sabbath, it is an appeal to the Commandment. The Sabbath was the day of God's rest, and in his rest God still works. This aspect of Our Lord's defence the Jews ignore, and there seems to be no point in recalling it except the recorded fact.

But in speaking of God as his Father, he claims, as in a special sense his Son, to interpret the Father's mind in thus applying the principle of the law to healing on the Sabbath. And the Evangelist evidently intends us to take this as the real ground of controversy. As to the healing on the Sabbath the defence is natural enough, and the reference to the matter at the Feast of Tabernacles is even more in his Galilean manner.

But it is important to observe that it is the Jews, not Our Lord, who isolate the Divine claim from the life-giving work of mercy. To him the work is Divine because it is life-giving.

In Our Lord's defence of the Divine claim, after the one great saying, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," there is no great utterance which can be said to appeal to us as carrying, even in any degree, any evidence of its own authenticity.

The reference to the witness of John, "He was the lamp that burneth and shineth," harmonises with the comparatively early date of the scene, and may perhaps be taken as suggesting a real scene and a real occasion.

But in the case of this discourse it is to the thought

presented that we must look, rather than to remembered words or incidental circumstances, and the combination of the Divine claim at its highest with the absolute subordination to the Father, what I have already spoken of as the prototypal humility of the Son, this is a thought whose deeply penetrative truth it is difficult to attribute to any mind but Our Lord's. It is, perhaps, the strongest instance of thought, characteristic of Our Lord himself, expressed in language which may not have been his own. The element of reminiscence in this discourse is perhaps at its minimum, so much so as to suggest that the Evangelist may not even have been present, and may know the story only by report.

With the discourse at Capernaum after the feeding of the five thousand, we are once more in an atmosphere which is much more decidedly the atmosphere of reminiscence. The controversy is a part of the history of the antagonism of Jerusalem, but it is closely concerned with the disciples and the climax of the story is its effect on the disciples. There are two distinct stages of the discourse, the discourse to the multitude and the discourse to the "Jews."

The discourse to the multitude begins with words that commend themselves to us as Our Lord's own: "Ye seek me, not because ye saw the signs, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled. Work not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto Eternal Life." The words again by which they give occasion to the great teaching of the discourse, "Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, as it is written He gave them meat from heaven to eat," sound like a record of memory. And in the double contrast, compressed into one antithesis, "It was not Moses that gave you the bread out of heaven, but my Father giveth you the true bread out of heaven," the form of the expression suggests a recollected saying. Again, the words of Our Lord, "The bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven," and their answer, "Lord, evermore give us this bread," leading to the great saying "I am the Bread of Life"—all this sounds

like a record which follows the course of a remembered conversation.

Again, the purport of the murmuring of the Jews when they come upon the scene, "Is not this Jesus, the Son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" is a very natural, almost a Galilean, opening for the Judaic objection to his speaking of himself as having a Divine origin.

Certainly, we still feel the shock which they felt, when he passes in the words "The bread which I will give is my flesh" to the foreshadowing of the gift of life through sacrifice. But if we are disposed to say that these words, or the reiteration of their purport in the further words which follow, may well be an expansion or addition even of an inspired disciple, there are still two things which tell against such a conclusion. First, it is the very purport of the story that the words *were* amazing, and in their actual effect repellent, "Many of his disciples when they heard this said, This is a hard saying who can hear it?" And secondly it is this very development of the discourse that leads up to and therefore gains support from the vivid scene with which the story closes, and the answer to the pathetic question, "Would ye also go away?" an answer too eloquent of barely over-mastered doubt to be the product of conscious dramatic art, burning rather with the passionate energy of the struggle of faith: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of Eternal Life."

In the case of this discourse there are certainly striking sayings that tend to authenticate themselves. There are, certainly, incidental allusions confirmatory of the historical character of the record, and there are touches of reminiscence such as it is very difficult to refer to conscious art in the writer, nor is the substance of the discourse alien to the mind of Our Lord.[1]

[1] The difficulty in accepting the record of the discourse as historical is connected with its occurrence at such an early period of the story, and the attribution to Our Lord, at this period, of teaching so fully developed on the matter with which it deals. With these historical difficulties the author has dealt elsewhere.

The discourses at the Feast of Tabernacles are set in the dramatic picture of a vividly remembered scene. The picture contains many touches of reminiscence, some of which carry us back far from the atmosphere in which the Evangelist wrote to conditions which had long since passed away. There is the expression of the wonder of the Jews, "How knoweth this Man letters, having never learnt?" There is the reference back to the healing on the Sabbath, and to the Jewish practice as to circumcision on the Sabbath day, having about it much more the air of reminiscence than the record of the discourses at the time when the miracle was done. We have just the kind of utterance which bears, we should say, the strongest marks of the mind of the writer of this Gospel. "Ye both know me and know whence I am, and I am not come of myself, but he that sent me is true; whom ye know not. I know him, because I am from him and he sent me." But then, this is preceded by the questions of some of them from Jerusalem, "Is not this he whom they seek to kill? Can it be that the rulers indeed know that this is the Christ? Howbeit we know this man whence he is, but when the Christ cometh no man knoweth whence he is"—questions, which so strongly reflect a remembered scene of controversy and doubt. So with the record that "they sought to take him and no man laid hands on him." Again, the substance, if not the wording, of the mysterious intimation, "Yet a little while I am with you and I go unto him that sent me. Ye shall seek me and shall not find me, and where I am ye cannot come," receives something like authentication from the comment of the Jews: "Will he go unto the Dispersion among the Greeks?"

The great utterance on the last day of the Feast, "If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink," ranks among the sayings which tend to authenticate themselves. And the comment, "This spake he of the Spirit," goes to confirm the impression of the words. And the dialogues of the Pharisees with the officers, who had failed to take him, and with Nicodemus, both carry a certain degree of dramatic conviction of their truth. Perhaps a natural prejudice may incline us to

cling unduly to the belief that the great words must be his own: "I am the Light of the World, he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."

Once more, the discourse in which he claims that he has the witness of the Father is supported by the answer "Where is thy Father?" which, it is difficult to suppose, was imagined. And "These words spake he in the treasury as he taught in the temple," reads like a genuine reminiscence.

In the controversy with the would-be believers, the rejection of whose superficial faith is the crisis of this phase of the ministry, if "the truth shall make you free" does not make some claim for itself as authentic, the resentment of the Children of Abraham at the implication that they are not free reads like a reminiscence.

Our Lord's answer makes an extraordinarily sudden leap from treating them as would-be believers, to treating them as deadly antagonists. The living water, the light, the freedom from sin are left far behind. There face one another in the deadly struggle, the spirit that has rejected the offer of life and the claim, isolated from the offer of life, the claim no longer now to give life but to condemn, as he is driven, as it were, by reluctant steps to the last great tremendous utterance, "Before Abraham was, I Am." We seem to follow not only the crisis on the chosen battleground of the spirit of good and the spirit of evil, but the record of a spiritual struggle in the soul of Christ himself as the great utterance is wrung from him almost in spite of himself.

It is in the case of this discourse that *all* the elements telling both in favour of and against the authenticity of the record seem to be present at their maximum and in the strongest contrast to one another. There are individual sayings which commend themselves as authentic. There are incidental confirmations and dramatic details. But, on the face of it, the substance of the sayings attributed to Our Lord is almost staggering in the effect on our minds. And yet it seems almost as incredible if we try to regard the story as invention. And

the very abruptness of the terms in the discourse lends itself rather to the supposition of fragmentary reminiscence.

In passing to the next discourse we are conscious of a very definite change. There is no indication of date at the beginning of chapter ix, but we are no longer in the stormy atmosphere of the Feast of Tabernacles. The air has cleared, and the forces have drawn off from one another. With the dramatic picture of the healing of the man born blind we are not concerned. The story closes with the words in which Our Lord passes the doom of judicial blindness on the Jews, words which in their compressed and enigmatical form suggest a real saying. Then, abruptly, with a welcome sense of escape, we pass into a new and higher spiritual region.

The discourse on the Door of the Sheepfold and the Good Shepherd is perhaps of all the discourses in the Fourth Gospel the one which most brings with it the sense of the living presence of Jesus Christ. And the impression that we are listening, in part at least, to actually remembered words is strong almost to the close of the first stage of the record, where the discourse ends upon the thought of the willing sacrifice of love, as the expression of the bond between the Father and the Son. Perhaps such a discourse could be delivered, because there were still some among the Jews who could say, "These are not the words of one possessed of a devil."

In the second stage of the controversy, when the Jews come round about him in Solomon's Porch, to ask him "Is he the Christ?" though Our Lord's answer carries on the thought of the sheep who know his voice, his claim to guard the sheep who are his own is endorsed with the overwhelming words, into which, if we are to regard them as authentic, we have to carry all the tender meanings of self-sacrificing love of the parables that have gone before, "I and the Father are one."

He meets the accusation of blasphemy by an extraordinarily bold application of the words of the Psalm, "I said, Ye are gods," to recall the old sense of the fellowship of

God's people with their God, obscured and lost by the current regulations of reverence, regulations which so shut man off from the hope of communion with God, as to condemn any attempt to dwell upon or expand the Messianic promise embodied in the naming of the Messiah as the Son of God. It is difficult, indeed, to attribute the thought and the courage so to apply the words of the Psalm to any other than himself.

In this discourse, where our feeling is strongest that we are in touch with the mind of Christ, we still feel that in the actual wording we are to some extent, we cannot say how far, under the influence of the mind of the writer of the record. But not even the height of the claim, "I and the Father are one," can do away with the impression conveyed throughout of the remembrance of an actual scene and of actually spoken words.

If we are to attempt to sum up the result of the application of the tests to which we have subjected the discourses in the Fourth Gospel—on the whole I should claim that we can show that the discourses contain:—

(1) A considerable element of evidently remembered words, and

(2) A much larger element of remembered argument and thought, and that the evidence under these two heads is

(3) Corroborated, to a degree which it is very difficult to exaggerate, and which can only be exhibited in detail, by reminiscences of the occasion, the background, the abrupt turns, the issues of the discussions, such as frequently carry us back to the circumstances of Jewish life at the time when Our Lord was on earth, and further by the part taken in the discussions by those to whom the discourses were addressed.

But after all, when we have so far surveyed the evidence, point by point, under these three heads, we must, I think, acknowledge that the survey leaves us still asking the question —What positive and undoubted conclusion emerges from these

somewhat doubtful impressions and conjectures? And the answer takes us back to the fourth heading, under which we were to examine the record of the discourses. For one conclusion emerges which is positive and not open to doubt, and it emerges as the outcome of the survey of the very data to which *in themselves* we can only trust with a partial and doubtful confidence.

> (4) It is, that to the writer at any rate when he wrote, that which he wrote was reminiscence, reminiscence supplemented from time to time, by thoughts which he felt to be part and parcel of that which he remembered, but it is with a body of reminiscence that we have to do.

This conclusion is not an inference from doubtful and uncertain data. All the uncertainties that we feel as to the exact relation of the words, or even the thoughts, attributed to Our Lord to the words originally spoken, or the thoughts originally expressed, or again, as to the relation of the thoughts and words to the circumstances with which they are connected in the story—all these uncertainties are uncertainties about a thing which itself stands out after all as not subject to doubt. The man who writes is in his own estimation writing to the best of his power, and with every faculty of his mind and soul intent upon the task, not a tale that he is bound to tell, because it bodies forth an idea which has taken possession of his own mind, but the story of a past which is present to his mind as he writes, and in the memory of that past the discourses remain as "that which we have heard."

WILFRID RICHMOND.

APPENDIX.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

It is apt to be assumed that the first question to be asked about the Fourth Gospel is the question as to its authorship, and in particular the question—was the author John, the Apostle? As a matter of fact this is not the first question to be asked, but the last. Certainly there are questions to be considered first—questions to be considered before the question of the authorship of the gospel, because the answers given to them have a bearing on the question of the authorship—not necessarily a decisive bearing, but they make some contributions to its decision; and, on the other hand, they may be considered without assuming any answer either way to the question of the authorship of the gospel. They may contribute to the decision of the question of the authorship not necessarily by directly suggesting an answer to the question, Who was the author? but by helping to determine the form in which the question as to the authorship is to be framed.

I propose here to suggest the bearing on the question of the authorship of the gospel of the results of such consideration as I have been able to give to three questions. They are to be considered, I need not say, for their own sakes, but it is with their bearing on the question of authorship that I am here immediately concerned.

1. The first question is the question as to the subject of the gospel. The Gospel on the face of it professes to tell the story of the preaching of a "gospel" at Jerusalem. What was this "gospel"?

2. The second question concerns the historical character of the narrative presented by the gospel.

3. The third question concerns the historical character of the discourses contained in the gospel.[1]

I may summarise as follows the conclusions to which the attempts to deal with these enquiries point the way, so far as they bear on the question of the authorship of the gospel.

1. *The subject of the gospel.* The fourth gospel, on the face of it, tells the story of the preaching of a "gospel" at

[1] Of these three questions the third only has been considered in this present article. The first was treated in an article on "The Gospel of Life" in the *Church Quarterly Review* of October 1926, and in earlier articles in "Theology," the second in "The Gospel of Rejection," published in 1905. The results, so far as they bear on the question of the authorship, are summarised here. The discussion of both questions will be included in substance, together with the present article in a book which it is proposed to publish shortly.

Jerusalem. What was this "gospel"? On the face of it, it was the gospel of Life; if we ask what *was* this gospel of Life? the answer may be presented in two ways. On the one hand we may present a summary of the doctrine of Life as we have it in the Johnannine writings as a whole, taking as a central principle the definition of Eternal Life in Chapter xvii of the gospel as the knowledge of God, that is as living Communion with God, and giving their full value as expansions of the principle to the discourses in Chapters xiv—xvi and to the Epistle, and then following the principle out into the discourses to the Jews on the conditions and consequences of the acceptance or rejection of the offers of Life; or on the other hand we may follow the discourses to the Jews and the disciples as they occur in the gospel, discourses which present us with no definite or systematic order of treatment but are occasional and dependent on the circumstances that evoke them, and then proceed to the development of the doctrine in the Epistle as the heart of the actual life of the Christian Fellowship. It is not with the substance of either account of the doctrine that we are now concerned. The one thing to be noted for our present purpose is the fact that the doctrine, revealed in the Epistle as the very heart of the Christian Fellowship; this doctrine as disclosed by the author, in the gospel has a history, whose successive stages occur in no ideal order, but present themselves to his mind, and are presented to the reader, as the incidents in a story, significant to him as he wrote, and to us as we read, but with a significance in no way dependent on the order in which they occur or on their relation to one another. Each stage in the revelation is vitally connected with the circumstances which give rise to it. But the systematic presentation of a doctrine is evidently entirely absent from the mind of the writer.

The bearing of this character of the record of the discourses on the question of the authorship of the gospel will appear in what follows.

2. *The historical character of the story.* The inquiry into the historical character of the story resolves itself into the attempt to answer the question whether the combination of the story of the fourth gospel with the story of the Synoptists renders the latter story more intelligible, whether it results in a story which rounds itself into a whole. The particular points contributed by this inquiry which bear on the question of the authorship of the gospel are as follows. The fourth gospel adds to the story of the ministry in Galilee the story of a ministry at Jerusalem. It is on the face of it most improbable that there should not have been such a ministry. The Fourth Gospel tells us that there was such a ministry, and that its story is the story of our Lord's reception at Jerusalem, how "he came unto his own and his own received

him not." And the whole story of Our Lord's ministry on earth and of its tragic close rounds into a most moving and dramatic whole when its terrible ending takes its place as the predestined issue of an already tragic beginning. And the tragedy is not less a tragedy because its triumphant issue lifts the whole story to a new and higher level, and converts this intensified tragedy into the means of the triumph.

But the importance of the addition to the records of Our Lord's life is not confined to its thus supplying another chapter to the story, and one which enormously enhances the significance of the story as a whole. It explains as nothing else explains an underlying tone in the whole Synoptic record. It is the Christ who has been already virtually rejected at Jerusalem who offers himself in Galilee. He is a man already doomed to failure in the enterprise which he naturally set himself to achieve. And there is a sense of an undefinable sadness in the apprehension of Our Lord's person and character with which the Galilean gospels leave us.

Further the gospel whose preaching at Jerusalem was obstructed by the spiritual unfitness of Jerusalem to receive it can only be gradually apprehended or even approached in Galilee. There is a sense of revelation breaking through reserve, of a half involuntary economy of revelation in the teaching. This is due, in part, no doubt to the fact that the Galilean teaching was only preparatory to the fuller teaching of the Spirit, but it is due in part to the fact that his hearers can only approach through parable and paradox what an audience, that was at once more instructed and more spiritually advanced, might have reached through more open and unrestricted means.

In the end the purpose of the revelation was achieved, but the steps in the advance towards the achievement of the result are tragically sad, and the revelation itself is like sunlight breaking through clouds which reveal even by obstructing the light that penetrates and overcomes them.

This is the contribution of the inquiry into the historic character of the story to the consideration of the authorship of the gospel.

3. *The Historical Character of the discourses in the Fourth Gospel.* The discourses present the most obvious challenge to any theory that the fourth gospel can be read as history. On the face of it the most that can be said is that they contain (1) in certain remembered sayings, (2) in the thoughts and ideas contained in the discourses, and (3) in the occasional matter embodied in or connected with their delivery, indications that they represent discourses actually delivered.

A review of the evidence under these three heads leaves us with a tantalizingly doubtful result. There is undoubtedly solid

affirmative evidence under all three heads, but it is all conveyed to us in the form of a reminiscence and the mind of the writer, which is the medium through which the evidence is conveyed to us, necessarily disguises the originally spoken words and even disguises while it reveals the thoughts that they convey. But in the course of the survey of the evidence one positive conclusion grows upon the mind. It is that, *to the writer*, the record is a reminiscence—not that he wishes to put what he writes into the form of a reminiscence but that it actually was to him as he wrote a living memory, not the less because the words, both through the lapse of time and through the fact that they have entered into and fashioned his own life and the life of the Church, are only in part an actual verbal memory and even the thoughts as originally conveyed to him have been appropriated and transmuted into his own thoughts.

And the result is, not that the record, as we have it, is an accurate reminiscence—the extent to which it is so remains open to question—but that the writer convinces us as he writes that to him it was a reminiscence, a reproduction of what he had heard. The question, thus, is, not how far the record is a true and accurate record but, true or false, accurate or inaccurate, who was the man who could claim to have and to record such a reminiscence? Who was the man who could profess to be qualified to make such a claim? This is the final question as to the authorship of the gospel which the consideration of the historical character of the discourses leaves us to answer.

And if we go back to the consideration of the historical character of the story the further question demands an answer—who was the man to whom such a reminiscence as this was the reminiscence of the rejected Christ, who was intimate enough with the mind of Our Lord and with the incidents of the story to see, behind the synoptic, the Galilean, Jesus, the rejected Christ?

And further still if we go back to the consideration of the record of the gospel of life—we are left to ask—Who was the man to whom such a reminiscence could be a reminiscence of the gradual, incidental and unsystematic revelation of the Gospel of Life, who could discern in the fragmentary and necessarily limited revelation to the Jews of Jerusalem and the still limited revelation to the disciples, the gradual approach to the final revelation in the Church, of the Gospel of Eternal Life?

As to the answer to these questions, I am not inviting the reader to draw a definite, far less a final conclusion. What I am venturing to suggest is, that towards the final decision of the question—Who was the author of the Gospel?—the consideration of the three questions indicated above contributes a factor which cannot be neglected or ignored. W.R.

Art. II.—THE MYSTERY RELIGIONS.

1. *The Mystery Religions and Christianity.* (London. 1925). *The Religious Quest of the Graeco-Roman World.* (London. 1929). By S. Angus.
2. *Hymni Homerici.* (Leipzig. 1860). By A. Baumeister.
3. *Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain.* By F. Cumont. (Paris. 1909). 2nd Edition.
4. *Eine Mithrasliturgie.* (Liepzig. 1903). By A. Dieterich.
5. *History of Greece.* By G. Grote. (London. 1869).
6. *Les Grands mystères d'Eleusis.* (Paris. 1900). By M. P. Foucart.
7. *Attis, Seine Mythen und sein Kult.* (Giessen. 1903). By H. Hepding.
8. *Aglaophamus sive de theologie mysticae Graecorum causis.* (Konigsberg. 1829). By C. A. Lobeck.
9. *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions.* (London. 1913). By H. A. A. Kennedy.
10. *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen.* (Liepzig. 1910). By R. Reitzenstein.
11. *Osiris.* (London. 1931). By H. P. Cooke.
12. *Kingship.* (Oxford. 1927). By A. M. Hocart.

It is now a matter of common knowledge that during the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the beginning of the Christian era ecstatic cults with a secret ritual grew up in the Graeco-Roman Empire, centring in such divine personages as Demeter, Persephone, Adonis, Dionysos, Osiris and Mithra, which played a determining part in the development and diffusion of the new ideas launched upon the world by

St. Paul and the subsequent leaders of Gentile Christianity. What is much less easy to ascertain with any degree of accuracy is the precise nature of these Mystery Religions, and the extent to which they influenced directly or indirectly the faith and practice of the Church. We know that from the sixth century B.C. sacred dramas were performed having as their central feature the representation of the death and resurrection of a hero-god, re-enacted in order to secure for the initiates a blessed hereafter. To this end the novice had to undergo a mystic re-birth through a long and complicated ceremonial which is best known in its Athenian form as practised at the annual festival at Eleusis in honour of Demeter, Persephone and Iacchus.

The Eleusinia.

The mystical origin of the festival known as the Eleusinia is contained in the so-called Homeric Hymn to Demeter, usually assigned to the seventh century B.C., or possibly later,[1] which describes the traditional foundation of the cult. According to the legend, Persephone, the daughter of Demeter by Zeus, while gathering flowers in the meadows, was carried off to the underworld with the connivance of Zeus. Only the Sun-god and Hekate, the Moon-goddess, saw her capture, but her mother heard her cries and instantly set out in search of her, going about the earth for nine days and nine nights, without food, and bearing in her hands blazing torches to light up the darkest recesses. On the tenth day Hekate led her to the Sun, who told her of the whereabouts of Persephone. Once more the sorrowing mother resumed her wanderings, and having changed herself into an old woman, she came at length to Eleusis, where she sat down by the public well, known as the Fountain of Maidenhood. Hither came the four daughters of Keleos, the king of Eleusis, to draw water, to whom she told a fictitious story of her escape from pirates. Having won their confidence,

[1] R. Foerster, *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* (Stuttgart, 1874), pp. 37ff. A. Baumeister, *Hymni Homerici* (Leipsic, 1860) p. 280.

she asked to be allowed to act as nurse to their baby brother, Demophoon. She continued, however, to sit day in and day out in silence, till the jests and raillery of Iambe, the maid-servant, made her smile. She then consented to take a little gruel (κυκεῶν) of barley meal and water, but steadfastly refused wine. By day she anointed the child with ambrosia —a magical life-giving substance—and by night bathed him in fire, as did Thetis with Achilles. Had she not been disturbed in these operations, she would have made him immortal; but one night Metanira, the wife of Keleos, saw her place her child in the fire, and cried in alarm. Thereupon the goddess declared herself and her intentions. "I am the exalted Demeter, the charm and comfort both of gods and men: I was preparing for thy son exemption from death and old age; now it cannot be but he must taste of both. Yet shall he be ever honoured, since he has sat upon my knee, and slept in my arms. Let the people of Eleusis erect for me a temple and altar on yonder hill above the fountain: I will myself prescribe to them the orgies which they must religiously perform to propitiate my favour."[1]

Keleos did as she had commanded, whereupon the goddess took up her abode in her temple. But so great was her grief at the loss of her daughter that she withheld her blessings from the soil, so that nothing grew; men were in danger of starvation, and the gods themselves were threatened with a similar fate since the altars lacked the life-giving sacrifices. In alarm Zeus agreed to send Persephone back to her, and Hades, unable to resist the command of his elder brother Hermes, yielded up his prize, but not before he had given her a pomegranate seed which bound her to him for one-third of the year. With great rejoicing she returned to Eleusis in a golden chariot to dwell for the remaining two-thirds of the year with Demeter.

The goddess then consented to rejoin the gods in Olympus, but before her departure she revealed to the daughters of Keleos, and the rulers of the land, Triptolemus, Eumolpos, Diokles, and the king, the manner of performing her secret

[1] G. Grote, *History of Greece* (Lond., 1869), i, p. 37.

rites which would confer upon initiates a new birth to a blessed immortality. These mysteries became the prerogatives of the Athenians, according to another legend, as a result of a war by Erechtheus, with the Eleusinians,[1] which gave them the political headship, but to the family of Eumolpus and the daughters of Keleos were assigned the high priesthood of the cult.

This constitutes the mythological background of the annual festival which took place just before the autumn sowing, on the 15th day of Boedromion (approximately September) and lasted for ten days or more. The entire festival may be divided into four distinct ceremonial acts—(1) the preparation and purification of the *mystae*; (2) the procession from Athens to Eleusis; (3) the roaming about at the sea-shore; and (4) the sacred drama in the Hall of Initiation.

By way of preparation, fasting, seclusion, penance and asceticisms of various kinds were required. The initiate, during the latter portion of the month before his installation, went to an instructor, or μυσταγωγὸς, who had himself successfully passed through all the degrees, and from him he received instruction concerning the rites of purification to be performed, and the offerings to be made to gain the favour of Demeter. A fast of nine days followed—from the 13th to 21st of Boedromion, in commemoration of Demeter's fast during her search for Persephone—when no food might be eaten between sunrise and sunset, and then domestic birds, fish, apples, beans and pomegranates were *tabu*. On the 16th wine was distributed to the people in the evening in honour of Chabia's victory at Naxon, and the next morning the festival began.

A proclamation was made driving forth all strangers and murderers before the *mystae* were led to the sea-shore (ἅλαδε μύσται) to undergo a series of lustrations. Sacrifices for the safety of the State were offered on the 17th in the Eleusinium at Athens. On the following night (18th) some of the very devout may have slept in the temple of Demeter, or in the

[1] Pausanias. I. 38. 3. C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus sive de theologie mysticae Graecorum causis* (Konigsburg, 1829). p. 206.

temple of Aesculapius, south-west of the acropolis. Meanwhile sacred objects consisting of a bone (ἀστράγαλος) top (στρόβιλος) ball (σφαῖρα), tambourine (ῥόμβος), apples (μῆλα), mirror (ἔσαπτρον), fan (λίκνον), and woolly fleece (πόκος), were brought from Eleusis. A procession formed in the morning of the 19th from the Eleusinium and proceeded to the Iaccheum where the statue of the "fair young god" Iacchus, adorned with myrtle and holding a torch, was procured and carried amid wealthy ladies in carriages and priests and people crowned with ivy and myrtle. Along the Sacred Way to Eleusis stations were made, and appropriate ceremonies performed at the shrines, temples and baths which lined the route. On occasions buffoonery and gibing at one another, called γεφυρισμὸς, was resorted to either on the outward or return journey, as is common in initiation and coronation rituals. Sacrifices were then offered which seem to have included an oblation of wine to Demeter.

On the evening of the 22nd, the votaries roamed about the sea-shore with lighted torches in imitation of the search for Persephone, to bring the *mystae* into union with the passion of Demeter. Then came the climax of the sacred drama, when, after an all-night vigil, the neophytes assembled in the great Hall of Initiation veiled and in darkness sat upon stools covered with sheepskins. Some kind of dramatic performance took place which seems to have depicted episodes in the life and sufferings of the sorrowing mother.[1] But whether the rites included a sacred marriage, as might be expected under the circumstances, it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty.

There are indications in the Christian writers that the union of the sky-god Zeus with the goddess Demeter was symbolised by the intercourse of the hierophant with the priestess of the goddess, a reaped ear of corn being the fruit of the divine

[1] Clem. of Alex. *Protrept*, 12, 15. (Ed. Potter). *cf.* F. Lenormant, "Eleusinia" in Darembery and Saglio, *Dictionaire des Antiquites Grecques et Romaines*, iii, 578, Lobeck, *Aglaoph*, 701f.

marriage.[1] But the evidence is very hypothetical, and rests on the none too reliable testimony of late writers when the original rites had absorbed many extraneous local elements. Thus, the birth of the holy infant Iacchus, the son of Zeus and Persephone, is an addition to the Eleusinian deities, and the cry of the hierophant, "the lady-goddess Brimo has borne Brimos the holy child,"[2] recorded by Hippolytus, was derived from Gnostic sources. It is in this same context that the secret of Eleusis is revealed as a disclosing to the initiated of a "cut corn-stalk."

That a sacred marriage and the reaping of an ear of corn did occur at supreme moments in the cult seems very probable, at any rate in its later form, but how far they are parts of the original drama the evidence is insufficient to warrant a conclusion. The agricultural character of much of the ritual is obvious, but this does not justify the assumption that Demeter was a corn-totem whose divine substance was sacramentally eaten by the neophytes partaking of the cup of κυκέων, a gruel made of water and meal, mentioned by Clement of Alexandria.[3] Actually we have no definite evidence of the worship of the corn-stalk, still less of a corn totem. Therefore it is to go beyond any available data to say that "as the worshippers of animal totems at their annual sacrifice consumed the flesh of their god and thus partook of his divine life, so the worshippers of the Corn-Goddess annually partook of the body of their deity, i.e. of a cake or paste or posset made of the meal of wheat and water."[4]

[1] Tertullian, *Ad nationes*; Asterius Amasensus, in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca,* xl, col. 324. *cf.* P. Foucart, *Les Grands Mysteres d'Eleusis* (Paris, 1900), p. 69.

[2] J. Harrison, *Prolegomina to Study of Greek Religion* (Camb., 1922), pp. 548ff. *Refutatio omnium haeresium,* L. Duncker et F. G. Schneidewin (Göttingen, 1859), 3. 162.

[3] *Protrept,* ii, 16, 18, 24.

[4] Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion* (Lond., 1902) p. 365f., *cf.* Kirsopp Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul.* (Lond., 1911), p. 214.

Even supposing that Dr. Jevons were correct in assuming Demeter to have been an Eleusinian corn-totem, and that the κυκέων really contained her substance, both of which assumptions have yet to be proved, it would not follow that the ceremonial meal was in the nature of a mystic sacramental communion with the divinity. All that could be deduced from such evidence would be a primitive attempt to imbibe the life and qualities of the sacred species, and to secure a closer ritual fusion of the totemite with the totem, which, in the rites in question, have been brought about by a coarser symbolism. Normally, it is the quickening and strengthening power of the corn-spirit that is sought in agricultural cults of this nature, distinct from the loftier strivings after a mystical union with a divine being.

Now it would seem that at Eleusis, at any rate in later times, the supreme "act of worship," to which all the preliminary ceremonies were directed, consisted in beholding a sacred action, and not in partaking of a sacred meal. Thus, in the familiar phrase of Clement of Alexandria, "I have fasted, I have drunk of the κυκέων, I have taken out of the chest, having tasted thereof (or wrought therewith), I have put them into the basket, and from the basket into the chest,"[1] the sacramental feast, if such is implied, was merely part of the preparatory rites, and not the culmination of the cult. Furthermore, there is no indication that the κυκέων was hallowed on an altar, or in any way connected with sacrificial ritual, while the theory that it contained the divine substance of the goddess is pure assumption. Therefore until classical scholars can provide us with more evidence, the anthropologist and student of comparative religion must declare as unproven the theory that "the first great and solemn act of worship" at Eleusis consisted in a mystic sacramental communion with the goddess through the reception of her divine substance.

The same attitude must be maintained at present to the similar references to sacred meals in connexion with the other

[1] *Protrept,* ii, 21.

Mystery Religions, though in one or two cases the affirmative evidence is rather more convincing. It is possible that the admonition to the priest to "cut up and minister the cake, and distribute the liquid to the votaries," recorded in the fragmentary inscription of the Kabeiroi mysteries from Tomi in the Black Sea,[1] indicates a sacramental element in the Samothracian cult; but the restoration is conjectural, and from the few fragments we possess it is impossible to determine what was done or implied at the meal. Taken as it stands the inscription merely records the practice of communal meals in this society which may or may not have been sacramental in character.

The Dionysiac Ritual.

In the orgiastic Thraco-Phrygian worship of Dionysos, which made its way into Greece in the Homeric period, and became definitely established as a public ritual by the sixth century B.C., the devouring of the raw flesh of bulls and calves by frenzied votaries seems to have formed an integral part of the culture.[2] But the primary purpose of the Dionysiac was the celebration of a death and resurrection ritual to obtain the re-birth of the initiate to a blessed immortality, as in the later Orphic mythology which tells how the infant god, Dionysos, under the title Zagreus, son of Zeus and Persephone, was enticed away from his nurses by the giant Titans, torn in pieces, and eaten, except for his heart. This organ was brought to Zeus, who gave it to Semele, and from her Zagreus was born again as Dionysos. Zeus thereupon consumed the Titans with his lightning, and out of their ashes man emerged with a twofold nature, composed of an evil element derived from the Titans, and a good element from the flesh of Zagreus which had been eaten.

It was this Titanic element in the human organism (equated with the physical body) which the later Orphic mysticism endeavoured to overcome by ceremonial ecstatic

[1] Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie.* (Leipzic, 1903), p. 106, *cf.* Farnell, *E.R.E.*, vii, p. 631.

[2] Firmicus Maternus. *De err. prof. rel.*, 6, p. 16 (Ziegler).

rites and moral purity during the soul's incarnation in a series of bodies. The attainment of the immortal state was only reached by complete union with the gods since "only to the gods in heaven comes no old age nor death of anything."[1] Salvation was wrought by Orpheus and mediated through the Bacchic mysteries, but how far, if at all, the representation of the passion of Dionysos, and an *omophagia* in his divine life, constituted part of the cult we do not know. Something in the nature of a sacramental union with the worshippers may have been established when the god visited the votaries in early spring, and in the *thiasoi,* or brotherhoods. But from Pindar to Plato it seems their main preoccupation was the solution of the problem of immortality along the lines of Buddhist thought, and if the Indian philosophies can be taken as a guide, sacramentalism is scarcely likely to have been very prominent.

In any case, Orphism took the ancient ritual of Dionysos, and having stripped it of its Thracian orgies, gave it a new significance in an endeavour to free the soul from a "circle of births or becomings" by spiritual rebirth and regeneration to a higher life beyond the grave. It seems to have influenced the cult of Eleusis, and if it did not penetrate the inner secrets of these mysteries, the vegetation ritual of Demeter, like that of Dionysos, was interpreted in terms of the destiny of the soul after death.[2] It was, indeed, this hope that gave the Eleusinia its widespread appeal, drawing worshippers from many lands to its annual festival, not merely to behold a passion drama, as in more recent times at Oberammergau, but to secure a place among the glorified dead hereafter.

The Attis-Cybele Mysteries.

It was this same desire that found expression among the votaries of Attis at Athens in the fourth century in the anointing of the body of the novice with a mixture of mud and bran[3]

[1] Soph., *Oed. Col.* 607.

[2] Lobeck, *op. cit.* p. 69ff., E. Rhode, *Psyche* (Lond., 1925), p. 219, L. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Camb., 1922), p. 539ff.

[3] Demosthenes, *De Corona,* xviii, 259.

in the hope that thereby a blessed hereafter might be secured. At some point in the ritual, according to Firmicus Maternus and Clement of Alexandria, the neophyte ate out of the timbrel and drank from the cymbal, and went down into the bridal-chamber (παστός).[1] Our ancient informants do not tell us anything more than that these rites were performed during initiation, while Hepding maintains that in some cases there was an actual burial as part of the resurrection ceremonial, the initiate rising from the grave with the divinity to a new life.[2] This is a very widespread custom in initiation rites, e.g. Australia,[3] and the journey to the bridal-chamber commemorating the death of Attis would naturally suggest the rebirth of the *mystae* from the cave-sanctuary of the Mother-goddess.[4]

Less plausible is Farnell's contention that the sacred meal from the drum and the cymbal was a sacrament of cereals or fruits eaten "as the very substance or body of his divinity."[5] It is true that Attis, in the liturgy, was himself called the "Corn-stalk," but it has yet to be proved that he was "the mystic Bread in a sense in which Demeter is never found to have been." Moreover, so far as the earlier cult is concerned, it has to be borne in mind that it is only the later writers who record the ritual.

The same applies to the *Taurobolium,* for while the rite doubtless had a sacramental significance in the third and fourth centuries A.D., the earliest references to it, which belong to the second century of our era, suggest that its object was the welfare of the Empire, Emperor, or community rather than the regeneration of an individual.

Moreover, there is no positive evidence that the taurobolium was originally connected with the Cybele cult in

[1] Firm. Mat. *de err. prof. rel.*, xviii.I. Clem. of Alex. *Protrept,* ii, 13.

[2] *Attis, Seine Mythen und sein Kult.* (Giessen, 1903), pp. 196ff.

[3] Spencer & Gillen, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia* (Lond. 1904), p. 554.

[4] Hepding, *op. cit. p.* 185, 199.

[5] *Hibbert Journal,* 1904, p. 317.

its Phrygian form. Cumont contends that it made its way into Italy in the second century A.D. from Cappadocia where it had been part of the worship of the eastern Artemis Tauropolos.[1] This view is upheld by Dill,[2] though it is controverted by Hepding, who maintains a Phrygian origin for the rite.[3] But even so it was only in post-Christian times that we encounter it in its mystic form as a bath of regeneration rendering the baptized *in aeternum renatus*.[4] If it subsequently became part of the Mithraic cult, it was probably borrowed from the Cybele-Attis ritual in the last ages of paganism in the West.[5]

The Isis Ritual.

It would appear from *The Golden Ass,* the curious work of the Egyptian Apuleius, that Isis initiates at Corinth in the second century A.D. underwent a ceremonial bathing during the period of preparation, like the *mystae* at Eleusis.[6] Having performed the necessary offices and asceticisms, the candidate was at length led into the inner chamber of the temple at night where, by the aid of a sacred drama and occult methods, he was brought face to face with the gods to receive mystic revelations and witness sacred sites which Lucius, the hero of Apuleius, was unhappily not permitted to divulge. He admitted,

[1] F. Cumont in *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.* vi, no. 2, 1901. *Les Religions Orientales,* E. T. (Chicago, 1911), pp. 99ff, 332ff. According to Showerman, the difference between the *taurobolium* and the *criobolium* lies in the latter being a sacrament instituted subsequently to bring the Attis myth into greater prominence, whereas the *taurobolium* had a long sacrificial history. *cf. The Great Mother of the Gods.* (Madison, 1901), pp. 280ff.

[2] *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (Lond., 1904). p. 556.

[3] *op. cit.* p. 201.

[4] Dill, p. 547, n. 4. *Corpus Inscrip. Latin.* vi., 510, viii, 8203.

[5] Dill. *op. cit.* p. 556.

[6] Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra* N.Y. (Chicago, and Lond. 1910), p. 180f. Metam. ix. 3.

however, that he had "penetrated to the boundaries of the earth, he had trodden the threshold of Persephone, and returned to earth after being borne through all the elements. At midnight he saw the sun gleaming with bright light; and came into the presence of the gods below and the gods above and adored."[1] The next morning he appeared before the people clad in the gorgeous array of an initiate, with twelve stoles, a coloured garment of linen, and a precious scarf on his back, all decorated with animal designs. In his right hand he carried a burning torch, and on his head he wore a crown of palm leaves. Thus adorned he was revealed for the admiration of the crowd. At the end of the year he had to undergo further initiation into the mysteries of Osiris, and shortly afterwards he was initiated for the third time, when he became a member of the college of *Pastophoroi*.[2]

Making due allowance for the fanciful character of this record, there can be little doubt that it was based upon inner knowledge of the initiation rites of the Isis mysteries. It would seem, then, that the novice underwent a ceremonial sanctification which was celebrated as a sacramental drama with an elaborate death and resurrection ritual, for the purpose of setting him in the way of salvation when he rose from a mystic grave. It was an initiation involving regeneration, and a voluntary dying, in order to enter into communion with the gods and rise to a newness of life through participation in a death and resurrection ritual. The mystery cult of a goddess, however, differs from that of a god in that the one is the mystery of birth, of life coming forth from life; the other is the mystery of death, of life issuing from death. It would seem that in Apuleius the votary embodies not the goddess but the sun since it was a vision of the luminary that was vouchsafed in a vision at midnight. Moreover, when the next morning he stood before the congregation he was arrayed in sacramental garments in the likeness of the solar deity with whom he was identified. That is to say, he passed through

[1] *op. cit.* 23.

[2] *op. cit.* 24, 26, 30.

the experience of death in union with the Sun-god rather than with Isis before entering into the full service of the goddess.

In the original Egyptian form of the ritual (the cult of Osiris) immortality was secured through the death and resurrection of the divine hero who died to awake to life again. Therefore it required only slight modification in a syncretistic age to bring the worship of Osiris and Isis into line with the spirit of Graeco-oriental mysticism, in view of its strong resemblance to the cult of the Asiatic goddess and her consort. In the fourth century B.C. the Olympic religion began to decay as city states were merged into larger units, and new influences from Thrace, Phrygia and Egypt made their way in the Eastern Mediterranean. In this great welter of religions the mysteries became firmly established, and finally, in the second century of our era, added the Persian cult of Mithras to their number. Now while all these rituals with their varied histories were never entirely fused, so far as the scanty evidence available allows of any generalization, they all appear to have had this in common in their later guise that they were sacramental dramas in the sense that they offered to all classes the promise of a blessed hereafter, and aimed at producing inner and mystical experiences calculated to quicken the religious life of the initiates through outward and visible portrayals of the passion and triumph of a divine hero.

The Mithraic Ritual.

In the Mithraic mystery initiation of Persian origin, and derived therefore from oriental cults, the ritual centred in the death of the sacred bull sacrificed to represent the primitive, or the future, divine bull which when immolated did, or will, cause the whole world to be reborn. He had been created by Ormazd, and when he was slain by order of the Sun, animal and vegetable life sprang from his blood. By virtue of this sacrificial act Mithras was the Creator of life, and, like the other mystery divinities, he became the guide and protector of souls in quest of a blessed immortality. To his initiates he secured ascent through seven spheres to the supreme heaven,

and full communion in the mystic beatific vision and celestial banquet, of which perhaps the sacramental communion of bread and water (and possibly wine), administered to the votary on his admission to the higher degrees, was the earthly counterpart of the original banquet which Mithra celebrated with the Sun before his ascension.[1]

The resemblance between the Mithraic and Christian rites is so apparent that from the days of Justin Martyr[2] the parallelisms have been stressed. Furthermore, since these Persian mysteries only made their way into the Graeco-Roman world in post-Christian times, it is not improbable that the ritual was influenced by Christian practice. As Gentile converts increased in the second and third centuries of our era, at a time when the mysteries were becoming widely extended in the Roman Empire, the two faiths would inevitably react on one another, however different in origin and purpose they may have been in the beginning.

The Mystery Religions and Christianity.

If the soul is restless till it finds rest in God, the conviction is deeply laid that to see him face to face, for those who are unprepared for the beatific vision, is nothing less than death. Only by slow degrees has the ethical idea of good and evil been educed from the primitive conception of a substantive pollution with quasi-physical properties, and therefore capable of being " washed off " or " wiped away " like any other defilement. In Greek religion sin was regarded as μιᾶσμα in a non-ethical sense, but when the Hellenistic and Roman periods are reached " we hear distinctly and emphatically a note of sadness and human weakness." If " it sounded only faintly and sporadically in the literature of the West in its classical prime, there is a brooding consciousness of failure, of the futility of human effort, of the load of human sin, the ineluctability of

[1] F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Lond., 1903), pp. 141ff.

[2] *Apol.*, i, 66, *Dial. c. Tryph*, 70. *cf.* Clem. of Alex. *Strom.* v. 71, 72. Tertullian *De Bapt.* 5. *De Praes. Haer*, 40.

penalty, of gods estranged, and the need of reconciliation and purification."[1] It was largely in response to these emotions that the mystery religions flourished. Plato, and other philosophical writers, might pour scorn upon votaries who lived by doctrines and ritual professing " to forgive sins " and secure that an initiated thief would fare better beyond the grave than an uninitiated just man such as Agesilaus and Epaminondas. But, nevertheless, the cultus spread because it met a human need.

To be led by an initiating priest from strength to strength and stage to stage along the mystery path was the perfect assurance of ultimate bliss, as Apuleius shows in his apologia.[2] This union with a god who had lived and died and risen again was achieved, however, by means which were inherently and essentially barbaric in character, though they may have been sometimes spiritualized and allegorized to a high degree. Thus, as Professor Gilbert Murray remarks, " the primitive Thracian savages, who drank themselves mad with the hot blood of the god-beast, would have been quite at home in some of the later mystery rituals, though in others they would have been put off with some substitute for the actual blood. The primitive priestesses who waited in a bridal chamber for the Divine Bridegroom, even the Cretan Kouretes with their Zeus Koures and those strange hierophants of the ' Men's House ' whose initiations are written on the rocks of Thera, would have found rites very like their own reblossoming on earth after the fall of Hellenism " in the Gnostic[3] and other oriental rituals.[4]

The mystery deity had been killed, generally torn in pieces and scattered over the fields, by his enemy, and as a result of this victory the life of nature ceased, till the dead god was brought

[1] Angus, *Mystery Religions and Christianity* (Lond., 1925), p. 206.

[2] *Metamorphoses,* xi.

[3] The Gnostic sects were much more than Christian heretics, as is often supposed, having been widely scattered over the Hellenic world both before and after the beginning of our era.

[4] *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1925), p. 183f.

back to life with regenerating power and healing in his wings. The method by which redemption was wrought was intimately connected with the notion of the suffering and dying vegetation god of antiquity, and the "righteous man" of Plato "who shall be scoured, tortured, bound, his eyes burnt out, and at last, after suffering every evil, shall be impaled or crucified."[1] But in neither aspect did the mystery or philosophical way of redemption approach to that which struggled to find expression in Israel, and reached its goal in Christianity.

Throughout the Hellenic gospel of redemption the cry of the failure of the Graeco-Roman civilization was heard as well as the need of a personal saviour, but unlike Judaism, it did not seek a national restoration through the raising up of a Messianic deliverer. It turned rather to the ancient mythology of Egypt, Greece and the East, and there sought in the ritual of initiation and rebirth, and a vegetation symbolism, a new hope of resurrection and life. The divine being worshipped as Zagreus, or Osiris, or Attis, who was believed to have died and been revivified, was not a historical person as in the case of the Christian Saviour, whose death at a particular moment in time and location in space can be determined by evidence which no reasonable person would attempt to deny. Moreover, there is no real parallel in the mystery mythology concerning the careers of Osiris, Demeter, and Dionysos, and the actual life and ministry of our Lord as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels.

That Christianity had the character of a mystery religion is shown by the initiation theology of the Pauline literature. Thus, in Romans vi it is stated that the catechumen was baptized into the death of Christ and buried with him in a regenerative bath from which the candidate emerged reborn to newness of life, as from the grave, like his risen Lord. Henceforth the Christian initiate lived under conditions different from those which constituted his former existence. Through a mystical sacramental union with Christ the flesh had been freed from the law of sin and death, and animated by a new life-

[1] *Republic*, 362 A.

principle, so that he walked not after the flesh but after the spirit as a "new creature" (Rom. viii, 4; II Cor. v, 17).

The Pauline interpretation of the initial sacrament, however, was by no means a typical mystery initiation ceremony, since, according to the apostle, "if any man hath not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his" (Rom. viii, 9). Clearly to the mind of St. Paul Christianity was essentially a personal mystical experience achieved by an act of self-renouncing trust involving death to the old life and a "rising again" in newness of life and status in Christ, in whom the initiate is "sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise" (Ephes. i, 13[1]). Therefore, if baptism had its place in his scheme of redemption and regeneration, it was not in the strictly mystery sense that he conceived the death and resurrection of the catechumen, since what was implied was essentially a putting away of the old life and its associations in order that a new relationship of sonship with Christ might be established (Rom. vi, 4; Gal. iii, 26f; I Cor. vi, 17).

In all these utterances St. Paul was expanding his own spiritual experiences as a "new creature" dead to his old life, and in a new covenant relationship with his risen and ascended Lord, which he found ethically superior to and more soul-satisfying than the Judaic Law. The spiritual grafting of the faithful into the New Israel was comparable, he thought, to the spiritual experiences his forefathers had undergone in the wilderness when they were "baptized" in the Red Sea; an episode which was only profitable to those who were not disobedient to the ethical laws of Yahweh (I Cor. x, 2). But what the Law failed to accomplish was carried into effect by the new covenant. It was, however, to his own ancestral faith, not to the ideas and practices of contemporary religions, that he looked for the antecedents of his newly-discovered Christian ideals. Judaism was, he thought, a schoolmaster to bring the world to Christ (Gal. iii, 24); whereas Graeco-Roman paganism,

[1] If the Pauline authorship of Ephesians is open to question, that this view of baptism is fairly representative of the teaching of the Apostle is apparent from Gal. iii, 2, ii, 19f.; Rom. x, 17; I Cor. ii, 4, 5; iv., 15; xii, 13.

in his opinion, was a sink of iniquity (Rom. i, 21ff.), from which many of his converts had been rescued, washed, and sanctified (I Cor. vi, 11). Therefore, having been at such pains to extricate perishing souls from the mire, he is scarcely likely knowingly and deliberately to introduce them afresh to pagan rites and beliefs.

If the view here maintained is correct, the mystery religions everywhere conform to a general culture pattern based on certain fundamental ideas connected with rebirth and revivification both in nature and in the human soul, derived originally from the things which were done to and by the king to secure the prosperity of the community during the agricultural year. Behind the death and resurrection of the hero lay the killing of the king and his importance for the well-being of society. Hence the vegetation symbolism as a secondary motive. Around these notions the mysteries have developed, and since Christianity is really a mystery religion, it too contains the same integral elements without having necessarily borrowed them directly from the neighbouring cults. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pauline doctrine of initiation bears certain resemblances to ideas which prevailed at Eleusis and elsewhere in cruder form.

Again, if there is no satisfactory evidence of the Eucharist having been borrowed from the sacred meals which may have formed part of the pagan installations, the Christian liturgical drama, as it took place in the fourth century and onwards, nevertheless followed the general mystery plan. Thus the most critical moments in the life of the Founder of the Church are solemnly commemorated in a mystical representation of the original sacrifice once made on Calvary, to which only the initiated are admitted. Moreover, according to Catholic discipline, a special preparation is required of communicants consisting of a fast from midnight, confession and absolution. Before ascending to the heavenly sphere the sacred ministers frequently undergo a purification rite—the *confiteor* and the *asperges*. In the Anglican rite the *Decalogue* is read at the beginning of the service just as the mystery initiates were

given instruction in the moral law as a preliminary to installation. The ancient life-giving ritual is preserved in the censings of the altar, ministers and congregation; the procession survives in the "Grand Entry" at the Offertory in the Eastern Liturgies, and in the other perambulations, e.g. the Gospel. The "*Secret,*" or silent oblation, the union of the worship on earth with that of "the whole company of heaven in the *anaphora,* the triumphant acclamation of the divine king and Saviour in the *Benedictus,* and the commemoration of the Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection in the *Canon,* all have their counterparts in the ancient ceremonial, while the *Fractio* in association with the *Agnus Dei,* symbolises the death of the divine Victim. Then follows the *Commixtio* as a representation of the resurrection, in which the body and blood are reunited again and reanimated, in order that the divine life may be bestowed in Holy Communion as a renewal of spiritual vitality to effect a mystical union of the soul with God which shall endure throughout eternity.

In this sacred rite, therefore, all the main features of the mystery sacramental drama are reproduced in a highly metaphysical form. First a severance from the world is represented, then a communion with the divine, and, lastly, a return to the world, but to a new and higher plane of it. The worship of heaven is brought into relation with that of earth by means of a ritual repeating symbolically the series of historical events upon which the initiates depend for their spiritual sustenance here, and the hope of immortality beyond the grave.

From the standpoint of comparative religion, the Christian liturgical drama is true to type, though it differs from the pagan mysteries in certain important particulars, as, for example, in the eschatological and soteriological significance of the eucharistic commemoration of the Easter triumph replacing that of the vegetative and reanimation motive of the Graeco-Roman seasonal festivals. As Hocart has said, "The Mass is a mystery play on the theme: 'So God loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life!'" "The

sacrificial Lamb is no longer the young of an ewe slaughtered at the Paschal Feast as the embodiment of some god in order to promote the life of the crops, but a symbol expressing, by what psychologists call condensation, a sum of innocence, purity, gentleness, self-sacrifice, redemption and divinity which no words could express with such forceful appeal."[1]

As Dr. Marett has recently reminded us in his Gifford Lectures, it is all too easy to slip into the " fallacy of deeming all religion more or less fraudulent because it employs a symbolism which, if taken literally, would be contrary to common sense. But this is to confuse the imaginative with the imaginary, the ideal with the merely unreal."[2] The old drama of creation and redemption is repeated in Christianity in a mystery ritual centring in a divine kingship, the new spiritual king, " incarnated once for all in order ever after to rule over the souls of men,"[3] invested in a scarlet robe, a crown of thorns, and a reed for a sceptre, dying to live on a cross which has become symbolized as the tree of life.

E. O. James.

[1] *Kingship* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 65, 243.
[2] *Faith Hope and Charity* (Oxford, 1932), p. 145.
[3] *Kingship*, p. 16.

Art. III.—THE ACCOUNT BOOK OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF ELY, 1604—1677.

When the Account Book opens James I is upon the throne of England and Gunpowder Plot is impending in the near future. The bishop of Ely is Martin Heton. The dean of the cathedral church is Humphrey Tyndall.

Dean Tyndall's signature is frequent in the early years of the Account Book. He always wrote Umphry for Humphrey. His memorial brass is one of the very few brasses which the cathedral has retained. It shows him at full length, in academical dress. His face is benignant, his hands are clasped in prayer, his feet are posed as though they walked. Beneath them are three Latin words Usquequo Domine Usquequo.

The accounts of each year were divided into two parts. The first contained a record of payments made under the heading of Stipends. The second included all the general outgoings, payments to labourers and tradesmen, expenditure upon repairs and decoration, and the many items great and small, ordinary or extraordinary, for which the Treasurer had to find money from time to time. Amongst the latter the Account Book itself early appears. It cost eight shillings and sixpence in 1604, and has given excellent value for money. Amidst a great quantity of uninteresting matter there flashes forth here and there one of those sparks of intimate revelation which make all ages kin. A purchase made in 1604 was "a chamber pott for ye vestry." A virger had broken his mace or virga. Silver was bought with which to repair it. The Virger, Leonard Lansdale, having mended it himself, was duly paid for his work and for bread and wine supplied for the Holy Communion. The latter was a recurrent item to which was sometimes added a mention of money spent upon

frankincense. The Reformation had touched Ely lightly. Incense was not completely disused until the Eighteenth Century had become almost middle-aged. Probably the episcopate of Bishop Butts marked its final discontinuance.

Beesoms and skepps for the use of the men who swept the cloisters were being bought year by year from 1604 onward. Night after night a solitary lamp glimmered in the darksome cloister walks and Olliver Evans drew wages for maintaining it. Olliver was a general labourer who made himself useful in any way about the cathedral. When gunpowder was purchased to "kill ye dawes," it is probable that he officiated with the gun. Two years work at killing dawes and vermin brought him five shillings from the Treasurer in 1621. He also derived a yearly income from "keeping fowles out of ye church." Sometimes the doves multiplied to excess, and Olliver was called upon to exterminate them. He took care of the clocks. One of them, with its "chymes," would seem to have been in the west tower. Oiling this clock and repairing the chimes were tasks which Olliver had frequently to perform. There was also a clock called "the olde clock," perhaps a monastic survival, which was established somewhere in the Lantern. A great rope for "the Lanthorne Clock" was bought in 1624 for four shillings and fourpence. At a later date Olliver Evans seems to have had a contract for the supply of tapers for the Communion Table. Night after night he lit those few rare lamps which made visible the darkness of the Church. One glimmered in the choir, another "in the Boddy of the Church," and another flickered in the windy cloister. At a later date the illumination was increased by an additional lamp somewhere on the north side of the building. At eight o'clock he rang the Evening Bell, which for centuries boomed over Ely at that hour until the Dean and Chapter regrettably decreed its cessation in 1802. When he had sounded the bell, Olliver performed his last daily task, that of "shutting in the church doors." Such were his avocations until 1643 when Cromwell interposed. The cathedral stood desolate until 1660. Then its activities revived, and the old

order reestablished itself. But Olliver Evans's familiar name does not reappear. The ringing of the Evening Bell, and the shutting in of the church doors devolved upon Widdow Johnson. Olliver had not scholarship enough to write his signature when he acknowledged the quarterly receipt of his dues. But he made his marks with regularity and efficiency.

Another very constant servant of the cathedral was Thomas Wiborow. His official status was that of lay clerk or singing man. He also acted as overseer of the works and taught the choristers how to play on the viols. They broke a lot of strings. Mr. Wiborow supplied them with new ones, and charged the Dean and Chapter with the cost when he sent in his bill.

Here and there the Account Book supplies historical evidence bearing upon the buildings. In spite of a tradition that Bishop Felton's election in 1619 took place within the Ely Chapter House, some antiquarians have dated the destruction of the Chapter House as far back as 1541. The evidence of the Account Book is against such an early date. The Account Book often mentions the Chapter House. A key was bought for its door in 1604-5. Some "joyned work" in the Chapter House was taken down in 1624-5. Henry Evans was paid for "plumbing work done over the Chapter House" in 1638. Next year Robert Disse was paid for timber used for "the Singing Schools Cloister and leads over the Chapter House." The latter entry is significant because the Singing Schools Cloister, commonly called the Blind or Dark Cloister, must have been adjacent, if not attached to the Chapter House. The accounts of 1640-41 also mention the Chapter House. Probably the building was pulled down before the King's Restoration in 1660. But the possibility that it survived that event is not entirely excluded. Vague references to "the Chapter House" occur in the accounts of 1661-62 and of 1663-64.

Bishops in the seventeenth century were tremendous personages who practised a habitual aloofness from their dioceses. Even the devout and saintly Lancelot Andrewes spent most of his time in London and visited Ely for no more

than three months of the summer. Upon such occasions as a bishop did loom upon the horizon, sumptuous and expensive entertainment had to be provided for him. Episcopal visitations connoted abundance in eating and drinking. The Dean and Chapter incurred an expenditure of £15 "for ye Diet" at Bishop Heton's visitation in 1608 as well as a fee of £5 for the privilege of being visited. A year later, Bishop Heton was dead, and Bishop Andrewes had taken his place. The legal and epularian expenses at the election of the new bishop amounted to the better part of £20. An occasional present of a buck from the Bishop's park came to the Dean and Chapter. But that meant a present in return of ten shillings to the keeper. It would appear that archbishops could be regaled less expensively than bishops. When Archbishop Abbott visited the cathedral in 1615, his entertainment cost little more than £8. There was, however, in the same year an expenditure of some £20 upon "implements and household stuff" for the Dean's lodging, which was smartened up no doubt with an eye to the fit reception of such an important guest. A footed table, two forms, a square table, and a rubbard, bought for the parlour, cost £4 3s. 4d. New hangings in "ye Galerie" and in "ye chamber without ye Galerie" were provided for £9 10s. 0d. This archiepiscopal visit took place soon after the appointment of Dean Caesar, who succeeded Dean Tyndall in 1614. One of the later events of importance in Dean Tyndall's life had been his reception of Bishop Andrewes and another distinguished visitor, Isaac Casaubon, the famous classical scholar. Casaubon asked the Dean questions about the construction of the Ely Lantern. Then he and Andrewes went on to stay for a while at Downham three miles from Ely. Casaubon merits the gratitude of fenmen as being one of the few distinguished strangers who have written in laudatory terms of the fen country and its scenery.

Another source of heavy expenditure was the free table kept up during the time of the yearly rent audit. The Dean and Chapter groaned under the weight of it in post-Restoration times and tried to limit the number of the free days to five.

Previous to 1660 the audit seems to have lasted for at least eight or nine days. The audit in 1660, no doubt an abnormal year, lasted 20 days and cost £126. In addition to food, extra expenditure was incurred upon candles. During the audit the cathedral was festally illuminated.

"Ye organes" were constantly going wrong in small ways and being patched up by local handymen. Robert Pike, a joiner by trade, did work upon them sometimes. Olliver Evans's name appears now and then in connection with payment for such small repairs. In 1607 greater efforts had to be put forth to bring the organ into proper condition, and the Treasurer was called upon to satisfy a bill of £13 16s. 8d. The organist at that time was George Barcrofte, a musician of talent, whose compositions have not been entirely forgotten. His official status upon the foundation was that of Vicar (minor canon) and Informator Choristarum. In 1610 he received £5 in payment of "Mr. Barcrofte's debt," and also £5 13s. 4d. "for pricking of songes." Pricking music was a source of revenue to the organists in the seventeenth century, and the work was suitably acknowledged at Ely. One has read of other Deans and Chapters who expected their organists to do it without payment. Good musician though Barcrofte was, Mr. Wiborow continued teaching the choristers upon the viols and sending in his bill for "strynges."

John Amner succeeded Barcrofte in 1610. The coming of the new organist coincided with further expenditure upon the organ. It was given a new pair of bellows "by Mr. Dean's appointment." Dean Tyndall seems to have had no desire to stint money where the music of the cathedral was concerned. But Amner may have found a stronger supporter in Henry Caesar who became dean of Ely in 1614. Probably the new Dean's influence gained for Amner the occasional special grants from the Treasurer of one or two pounds. To Dean Caesar he dedicated a service which he composed. Apparently Amner's worth as a musician was recognised. His stipend was small, but he received additional payment "for playing on the organs

at the beginning of sermons." His instrument was again repaired in 1616 and a new stop was added to it. Some years later its pipes were taken down and "scoured" by Robert Pike, the joiner, and his men. After which it was not unnatural that the pipes should call for retuning. Mr. Amner's "paines in helping to retune ye Organe" were recompensed with only five shillings. He was better treated in 1637 when he pricked new books for the Choir and got £5 for his trouble. The soft place in Dean Caesar's heart for music and musicians is demonstrated by the occasional mention of small sums given to the "musitians at the newe Ely fair." Year by year they had five shillings or thereabouts for their encouragement. A "strange singing man" turned up one day and contrived to please the Dean well enough to be given three shillings and fourpence. The same amount was given to the University Waits, whoever they were, when they made music in the Choir. Dean Caesar's countenance, as represented on his memorial in the cathedral, has human-kindness and charity written all over it. He gave £1 2s. 0d. in 1624 to "the Bishop of Monnte Atho." This obscure benefaction suggests that he took a friendly interest in the Greek Orthodox Church. Nearer home his generosity lighted upon a worthy recipient in John Minsheu, or Minshawe, the lexicographer, whose life of misfortune wrung from him the complaint that "he lit a candle for others, but burned out himself." Two copies of Minsheu's great dictionary, his 'Guide to Tongues,' were bought at different times for the use of the Grammar School "by Mr. Dean's appointment." They cost a pound a piece. A fine copy of Minsheu's 'Guide' remains in the Cathedral Library to this day; but it is not one of those two which Dean Caesar procured.

The bells were a cause of frequent expenditure. Bell ropes were for ever being renewed and were rather expensive. The rope for the Great Bell in the Lantern weighed 18 lbs. and cost six shillings. The rope for "ye fore bell," presumably the Treble, cost nearly as much, though it weighed only $7\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The leather straps, called Baldricks, which fastened the tongue of the bell to its staple, made

frequent breakages. But two shillings would pay for making and fixing a new Baldrick.

Ely Cathedral has never lent itself sympathetically to a ring of bells. The Western Tower is constitutionally weak, and the Lantern is but a framework of oak. Heavy bells, placed in the Western Tower by the monks, had strained the structure and were ultimately removed. In the seventeenth century, previous to 1660, no mention is made in the Account Book of any bells in the Western Tower except those which are called "the Chymes." In the Lantern hung "the Great Bell"—one wonders what was its weight—and three or four others. To ring them would seem to have been an impossibility. Only a gentle clocking was practicable. Why, then, the heavy mortality in bell ropes?

In 1616 Laud was made Dean of Gloucester. The appointment of such a pronounced ritualist indicated that the King had come down definitely upon the side of ceremonialism as opposed to puritan bareness in worship. Moreover, Andrewes was bishop of Ely, and Andrewes was no Puritan. It is not surprising therefore to read in the account for 1618-1619 of expenditure upon the decoration of the Choir. The treasurer that year was Archdeacon Daniel Wigmore. He placed the order with a London tradesman named Tolly. The most costly item was $3\frac{3}{4}$ yards of velvet for the Communion Table. This amounted to £5 8s. 5d. There was a purchase of crimson and purple taffaty, $13\frac{1}{2}$ yards in each colour, at seventeen shillings a yard, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ yards of purple graine at fifteen shillings and sixpence a yard. Cushions, lace, silk and fringes were also bought, and a pair of candlesticks. Bringing the things down from London, water transport from Cambridge, conveyance from the waterside at Ely to the cathedral—these items had to be superadded, and the total sum which the Dean and Chapter had to pay was little short of £50. On the whole, when the money values of that period have been adjusted to our own, one is left with the impression that the Dean and Chapter had not been niggardly, and that the Ely choir must

have been greatly enriched in appearance by their action. Bishop Andrewes, translated about the same time to Winchester, may not have seen the new hangings and frontals. But they were ready for Bishop Felton's admiration at his visitation in 1622.

In the meantime work had been done upon the Lantern. It had an almost insatiable appetite for lead. More than £40 was spent upon that heavy and expensive material in 1622 not to mention considerable sums upon the wages of the plummers who manipulated it. Lead and glass came from Lynn. Its transport by water was easy and cheap. The waterman, Robert Lupson, would bring up a cargo for a few shillings. A chest of glass was rather a frequent item in the Treasurer's account. It might cost thirty shillings. Sometimes Mr. Wiborow had to be sent to fetch it. His expenses in doing so amounted to five shillings and twopence. No doubt he went by river, and probably did not take more than a day over the expedition. There is nothing charged for "horsemeat" or for Mr. Wiborow's "lying out."

What with leading the Lantern, repairing the Dean's lodging, the prebendal houses, and the kitchen at the Grammar School—"the Schollers Citching"—the account for 1620-1621 ran high. The total expenditure was £842. This had been surpassed in 1615 when the Archbishop's visitation took place and caused the Dean's Lodgings to be refitted and redecorated. But in normal years the total was about £770. Little by little the amount crept up, until by the time the Rebellion broke out the yearly total had touched £900 more than once. After the Restoration the Treasurer must ruefully have reflected upon "pre-war" times and prices, for he saw an expenditure of £1,682 in 1662 rise to £1,933 in 1664 and climb to giddy altitudes in 1669 when the total was £2,928. The last, however, was an exceptional year. Repairs to the tottering Western Tower had involved abnormal expenditure. Once the peak had been passed, expenditure fell, and the Treasurer could budget for normal total outgoings of £1,500 or thereabouts.

In 1628 Laud became bishop of London. In August of the same year, with a patriotic motto sewn in his hat, Felton stabbed Buckingham to death. The coming struggle between Absolutism and Parliamentary government was looming like thunder-pile upon the horizon. Meantime the cathedral, which that struggle was so calamitously to affect, went on in its ordered round of common happenings. The horsepond in the Court Yard was being scoured out while Buckingham's murderer was footing the dusty road towards Portsmouth. A new jack was being fixed in the scholars' kitchen. The " captaine of the house," presumably the head boy at the King's School, received the gift of twenty shillings which Dean Caesar's kindness for several years provided. The summer sun was drawing out the evil odours of the many muckhills in the College. Each house seems to have accumulated an odourous pile. At the eastern end of the church, where now is the pleasant grassy expanse called the Monk's Graveyard, stood a muckhill in the seventeenth century. Probably it received contributions from the citizens of Ely as well as from the inhabitants of the College. Periodically Smith the carter was called upon to haul it away. Meantime, over the sluggish waters of the Lower Ouse the watermen may have been bringing a cargo of lead and glass. With yet many miles to travel they would see, if the summer haze allowed them, the tall tower of the cathedral looming upon its island mound in the distance. From the Barton gravel pits a load of gravel came creaking into the College to mend the churchyard cart-way. Phillip Attlesey, who blew the organ and kept order in the sermon-place during sermon-time, was applying to the Treasurer for new beesoms and skepps to be used when he swept the Choir and Cloisters. The great cushion in the Choir, perhaps that upon which they knelt at the Communion, had come undone and was being mended. The draw-bridge over the Ouse needing attention, the Treasurer had ordered the purchase of " a newe Cabell rope " and the old one to be spliced. Beyond the bridge across the fen ran the Stuntney causeway. Loads of brushwood were being cut to be thrown into the mud

in order to solidify the foundations. Mr. Wiborow, as overseer of the works, was present there to superintend. He kept a watchful eye to the time, for he was also a lay clerk and would have to be back at the cathedral in time to sing Evensong. All the many tradesmen who battened upon the Dean and Chapter were busy in their avocations. John Grimmer had an order for brick and tiles. Robert Pike, carpenter and joiner, was busy with a casement in Mr. Dean's lodging. Mark Westfield, the builder, had something to do at the watercourse which ran into the horse-pond. Perhaps he constructed the culvert which to this day, when suitably assisted by a thunderstorm, is apt to announce its hidden presence to those who dwell over it by the sudden flooding of their ground floor. Heavy thunderstorms were a nuisance because they used to cause inundations in the cloisters. There was one particular occasion in 1624 when the Treasurer had to expend five shillings and fourpence "for carrying water out of the Cloysters being sudenly ondrflowed twoo times." When other employments failed there would surely be work for someone "roubring ye pumpes" at the Porter's Lodge or at the house of Prebendary Bois. Dr. Bois was to lose his son William by a consumption in 1637. A white stone on one of the pillars in the nave bears his epitaph.

The years drew on. Laud became archbishop in 1633. Next year the King began to demand Ship Money. Ely was assessed with other towns. The account for 1636-37 shows the contribution of the Dean and Chapter to have been £10. Dean Caesar was approaching the end of his long and tranquil decanate. He died in 1636. His last year had the excitement of a Royal visit in preparation for which some improvements were effected inside and outside the church. No less than three dung heaps were removed from different spots in the College. A great deal of lead was bought in order to get the roofs into good order. Nearly forty-five pounds were paid to Mr. Mylner the lead merchant of Lynn. Meantime work had been doing in the Choir and on the Organ. Robert Pike and his man May

had been busy " carving." Whatever was the object which they carved, it was important enough to employ them for 26 days. After they had finished, another tradesman, Rattam by name, came to colour their carved work. He also coloured the pulpit. The organ was put into tune, and some repaving was done, so that neither might Royal ears be distressed nor Royal feet be caused to stumble. One more small item deserves to be recalled. Phillip Attlesey, the organ blower, made a mat for the vestry door and was paid sixpence for it.

Dean Caesar died in 1636 and was succeeded by Dean Fuller. A change of deans made no difference to Olliver Evans. By this time he had been at least thirty years at the cathedral. Still he minded and mended and oiled the clock and the chimes. Still he looked to the tapers in the " candellsticks " upon the altar—they were calling the holy table at Ely an altar in 1620. Still he rang the Evening Bell. After which the great church heard him " shutting in the doors " and composed itself for the silence of the night, a silence broken only by the ticking of the old clock in the Lantern.

An elaborate memorial was placed over Dean Caesar's grave. Would-be improvers have transferred it to another site so that it no longer marks the good Dean's resting place. It represents him kneeling in prayer at a desk. The desk is covered with a green and gold draping and bears a book of devotion from which he reads. When the flesh tints of its face were fresh and the ruff about its neck was white, as though newly come from the laundry, the figure must have presented a singular, perhaps a disconcerting effect of life. Time has toned it down, and on the whole has improved it. More fortunate than many other memorials in the cathedral, it has escaped mutilation. Dean Caesar left money to maintain the choir service which he had loved. But the Civil War broke out. The money was lost, and the donor's kind intentions remained unfulfilled.

Amongst the list of those who were prebendaries of Ely cathedral in the time of Dean Caesar occur the names of

Thomas Neville, John Bois, and Andrew Willet. Neville was the bountiful and sumptuous master of Trinity. His name is perpetuated in Neville's Court. John Bois was a prebendary of Ely from 1615 to 1644. He had a ferocious appetite for learning. It drove him as a young man to work habitually from 4 a.m. to 8 p.m. in the University Library at Cambridge. When the time came for him to be admitted a fellow of Saint John's College, he was suffering from smallpox. But smallpox could not subdue his indomitable spirit. He had himself wrapped in blankets and carried whither he could not walk. So he secured not only his fellowship but his seniority. One would never suspect that such a man could ever have been afflicted with nerves. Yet it is related that he gave up his intended profession of medicine because he could not read about any disease without imagining that he had it. So he took holy orders instead, and became rector of Boxworth. He married the daughter of his predecessor. She ran him into debt with her improvidence. In order to get clear he had to sell his valuable library. When the Authorised Version of the Bible was being produced for James I, Bois was one of the selected translators. When the several parts had been completed, six scholars were chosen to go up to London and make the final revision. Bois was one of them. It does not appear to have been lucrative work. Thirty shillings a week was the payment during some months of residence in London. Bois lived much of his later life at Ely. He was a charitable kindly man who led a life of strict but unconventional self-discipline. He practised the duty of fasting according to a system of his own, and declined to be tied down by the rules and customs of the Church. A relic of his early medical training remained with him for life, namely, a firm determination never to go to bed with cold feet. He died in 1644 during the Troubles, and was buried in the cathedral. No memorial marks the resting-place of his learned dust.

Another notable prebendary was Andrew Willet. He was born at Ely in 1562 and was educated at the Grammar School, which according to his own testimony was then in a flourishing

state and contained about 300 boys. Willet grew up to be a man of great learning and the author of many theological works. He was Trollopian in the steady regularity with which he set himself to begin to write a new book as soon as its predecessor had been finished. His books succeeded each to the other like fruits in the gardens of Alcinous. Anybody who possesses a copy of his "Sacred Emblems" possesses not only a very rare book, but also one that may have inspired Bunyan to produce "Pilgrim's Progress." As rector of Barley he lived the quiet devout and studious life of a country clergyman, and for his recreation used to play on a small organ, or go out to chop wood. He was held in high estimation as a commentator upon the Bible. To him were applied the words 'stupor mundi clerus Britannicus.' Like William III and Sir Robert Peel he owed his death in 1621 to a chance fall from his horse.

Dr. William Fuller came into Dean Caesar's place to begin a decanate which was interrupted by the outbreak of the Troubles. Thenceforward fines, imprisonment, and loss of preferments befell him for the reward of his loyalty. Ely knew him no more. He died in 1659. Had he lived another year, he would have seen the Restoration and enjoyed the recompense of his constancy.

About the time of Dean Fuller's appointment to Ely Mr. Wiborow ceased to teach the choristers to play the viols and sent in for the last time his bill for "strynges." This familiar item appears no more in the accounts. Perhaps the Dean and Chapter arranged that Mr. Claxton, who succeeded Mr. Wiborow, should undertake to supply strings in consideration of a stipend of £2 per annum. Indeed, there are signs that some such arrangement had been come to with Mr. Wiborow in the latter years of his time. No doubt as the organ and organist grew in importance, the viols and their professor declined. A year or so after the Restoration Mr. Claxton, who had survived the troublous times in Church and State, was still being paid for giving instruction upon the viols. But he was now an old man. After an apoplexy he became more or less incapacitated. Mr. Ferabosco was appointed to

succeed him as organist but not as instructor upon the viols. Thenceforth the choristers were the poorer for the loss of a subject of refinement from their curriculum.

When Dean Fuller commenced his decanate in 1636, the impending struggle between King and Parliament was drawing very nigh. Henceforth the quiet life of the Cathedral was lived against the sinister background of political disturbance. Ship money was being paid. Ten pounds was the amount of the assessment in 1637, 1638, and 1640. In 1639 the Dean and Chapter paid £3 10s. 0d. In the same year occurs an entry fraught with evil omen:—"Delivered to Mr. Dr. Brown April 17, 1639, for the Church towards His Majestie's Warrs the sume of £72." On the same date in the previous year the cathedral had been visited by Archbishop Laud, the short-tempered, irritable, overstrained Laud of those last hasting fateful years. Then followed Strafford's return from Ireland, his desperate attempt to bring unity into the disordered Royal counsels, an attempt shattered by his impeachment and swift execution. There could now be no hope of a peaceful solution, and preparations were made for the worst. It is pathetic to read in the Account Book of attempts to put the Cathedral and the College into a state of defence.

"Railes posts and pailes" were put up in the College. Richard Compton, the blacksmith, had an order for iron-work "to fence ye communion table doore and the wooden doore on the north side of the Quier." He also spiked the west door of the Choir. This was the iron door in the stone screen upon which stood the organ. It led from the choir into the nave. Walled in as it was, the Choir might have been successfully held against a rush of assailants. But a few marksmen in the triforia or clerestories would soon have made it untenable. We read also of iron work, window bars perhaps or railings, put up at the Deanery and at "the Court Gates." The latter designation signified the Walpole Gateway, otherwise Ely Porta, by which entrance was obtained to the College from the south. The great doors at the west end of the Church also received attention. Whether these well-meant preparations

were of practical service or not, who shall say? Fortunately, the bombardments which damaged Lichfield and Hereford were never let fly upon Ely.

In spite of the impending troubles in the State, the ordinary work of the Cathedral went on, and the Dean and Chapter provided for its future in faith and hope. They were spending money upon repairs of the Galilee or Western Porch in 1638. Next year they were leading the roofs of the Dark Cloister and of the Chapter House. They stripped one side of the roof of the College Hall, the present Deanery, and retiled it. An ancient building called the Monks' Kitchen came in for attention in 1642. So did the windows in the Lady Chapel. There was no slackening in care for the fabric up to the moment when Cromwell intervened and brought the life of the Cathedral to a standstill. Thanks to this constant and faithful attention given by the Chapter of those stormy times, the Cathedral weathered its long period of neglect, and emerged in better trim than might have been expected. It was not an utter ruin when in 1660 the Dean and Chapter, having achieved their reinstatement, set to work to bring their great church again into order and repair. For which let thanks be given to Dean Fuller and the Chapter of his day.

The accounts break off suddenly in the Michaelmas quarter of 1643 and the pages remain blank until 1660. The tale of Cromwell's suppression of the choir service has often been told. His wrath fell upon Mr. William Hitch, minor canon and precentor of the Cathedral, to whom he sent an order that the choir service should not be held. 'Lest the soldiers should in any tumultuous way attempt the reformation of the cathedral, I require you to forbear altogether your choir service, so unedifying and offensive.' Mr. Hitch, who had been a minor canon of Ely for thirty-two years, was not going to be prevented from doing his office without a struggle. With a constancy which his successors in the minor canoniate are proud to remember, he stuck to his service. The news was brought to Cromwell who lived at that time in the ancient house which has since become an Ely vicarage. He bustled across the Palace

Green, entered the Cathedral by the west door, stamped up the nave, and into the choir. "Leave off your fooling, and come down, sir." And Mr. Hitch had at last to obey.

The cathedral was closed up. The vicars and lay clerks dispersed. Their world had fallen in fragments about their ears. Few of them lived to see the Restoration and the resumption of the cathedral services. Two of the vicars, or minor canons, survived, and three of the lay clerks, one of whom was Mr. Claxton the organist. Mr. Boyce the butler, Mr. Grimwade the porter, and Mr. Deavis the barber also lived to see the happy day of the King's Return. Olliver Evans was probably one of those who died in the interval. On the eve of Cromwell's rough irruption upon the old order, he had rung the eight o'clock bell and shut in the church doors for the last time. Next day his livelihood was struck away. No more is heard of him—an unregarded casualty amid the clash of greater events. Mr. Hitch also disappeared. The name Hitch reappears in the post-Reformation accounts, but it is that of Thomas Hitch, surely a relative, perhaps a son.

The Cathedral lay neglected and desolate for nearly seventeen years. Cromwell has been credited with a protective influence exerted on its behalf. He may indeed have prevented the church itself from being used as a stone quarry. But it is more than probable that the spoilers worked their will upon the Cloisters and other buildings in the College. The church itself did not escape unscathed. Bentham's history speaks of damage done to the monuments. Memorial brasses were torn from the graves and carried away. However, the destruction might have been greater. At least the stalls in the choir remained undamaged to any serious extent.

In May, 1660, King Charles II landed at Dover. By Michaelmas of the same year there was once more a Dean and Chapter *de facto*, and the great church was reawakening to life and activity. The Dean and the eight Prebendaries are all new names. Widdow Johnson has succeeded to the place of Olliver Evans. She rings the evening bell and shuts in the church doors. She helped to cleanse the church against the

instalment of the Dean and Chapter, for which work she was paid, as also for her provision of a wheelbarrow. But the widow's connection with the Cathedral seems to have been merely temporary. Soon the post of bell ringer is being held by Thomas Evans. There is a solitary mention of one who is called "Goodman Evans," and the wild hope suggests itself that perhaps this is Olliver in his serest and yellowest leaf. But surely, if he had survived, he would have been reappointed to his Beadsman's place. And he was not.

On the whole the post-Restoration accounts lack interest. Though kept less neatly, they are clearer for being divided under the four headings of Stipends, Domestic Expenditure, External Expenditure, and Almsgiving. The first necessity was to get the church into habitable repair and furnished for divine service. An item in the accounts for the year 1661 is the sum of £65 expended "for the Organe bought for ye use of the Quier and for the bringing of it down to Ely." Apparently, therefore, the old organ had been destroyed in the Troubles. Soon there was a new organist. Mr. Ferabosco was appointed in 1662. At his first coming down to Ely the Treasurer allowed him £5 and a further £10 soon afterwards. The latter sum may have been an allowance in the stead of a house. Probably his predecessor Mr. Claxton, now apoplectic and pensioned, was allowed to retain the official dwelling place over the Dark Cloister. Mr. Ferabosco seems to have supplied a room elsewhere for use as a Singing School, and he was recompensed by the Dean and Chapter for so doing under the heading of "expenses with the Singing men in his chamber." The accounts for 1661-62 show that much work was done upon the fabric of the church. About £500 was paid out for that purpose. The clock, another sufferer in the years of neglect, had repairs done to it. There was also heavy expenditure upon works of decoration. The choir had to be refurnished. The Dean and Chapter bought cushions for the choir, feathers coarse and fine, 21 yards of "long silke gold ffringe" at a pound a yard, more fringe of a cheaper quality, fine canvas, pillow fustian, purple silk, and purple fustian. These materials cost £56. Making them up added further expenditure. Mr.

Wisman, painter, had £9 for work about the east end of the choir and for colouring the rails. Hangings were made for the choir. Plate for use at the Holy Communion was bought through a certain Colonel Hobill, of London. He was paid £88 13s. 6d., and a smaller unspecified sum which followed at a later date. One of the prebendaries, Dr. Holder, received £25 in part payment for the candlesticks. Perhaps he bore the remainder of their cost himself.

Of the plate bought in 1662 the Cathedral retains nothing now except the candlesticks. Silver gilt, nearly a yard high—the Puritan diarist, Miss Fiennes, particularly reprobated their excessive height—they stand on the High Altar and contribute their share to make the beauty of holiness. Luckily they escaped when the rest of the plate was stolen. Details of the robbery are but vaguely reported. Doubtless everybody concerned was anxious to hush it up as much as possible. The story goes that two plausible strangers presented themselves one day at the virger's house and asked to be allowed to view the Cathedral. They persuaded the virger to let them have the keys which, after a suitable interval, they brought back. He went to bed and thought no wrong. But next day he found the plate chest empty. Nothing more was heard either of the plausible strangers or of the plate. The date of this event has not been handed down. The Chapter order book shows that new plate was bought in 1795. Perhaps this purchase was necessitated by the robbery and followed close upon it. However, the candlesticks were not taken. They remain a memory of the King's Return and of the Cathedral's happy Restoration. They are also witnesses to Dr. Holder's good taste.

In July, 1662, the Bishop of the diocese visited the renovated Cathedral. Bishop Wren had shown great constancy to the Royal cause, a constancy which had earned him some years of imprisonment. It was difficult not to admire a bishop who had borne so much for his principles. Otherwise some might have imputed his lordship's misfortunes partly to his lordship's cantankerous temper.

The total expenditure in this year 1662 was £1,686. It failed to overleap that amount only by dint of strict penuriousness in the matter of stipends, which for the time being were kept down to the pre-war scale. But the cost of living had risen. The fact had to be admitted. In subsequent years the amount expended upon stipends showed an increase. Doubtless the recipients said that they were insufficiently paid and talked of the good old pre-war days. When so many things have gone up, it is good to find that skepps and beesoms show no advance. But who knows whether they had not deteriorated in quality?

It is easy to guess that when the Dean and Chapter were reinstated they found the College in a dreadful state of disorder. A certain number of mean shanties had been put up by the unauthorised persons who had lived in the College houses during the usurpation. Thatched with straw and built mainly of wood, such buildings were a danger to nobler buildings upon which they pressed. They were very rightly removed. Another very notable and beneficial removal was that of a stupendous muck hill which had accumulated at the East end of the church. The cost of carting away this and some minor muck hills was a full £7. Mountainous indeed must the heap have been! They did not, however, clear the south-west transept of the church itself. It continued to be abused as a work room and a store for materials. Palings were down in the College, and weeds were growing everywhere, high enough for a man to scythe them. A certain Owen Makasken comes into the picture now as odd job man about the Cathedral. It was he who mowed down the weeds, went occasional errands to Cambridge, and acted as boatman when required. When he fell sick in 1666, the Treasurer sent him five shillings.

After the Restoration the Dean and Chapter of Ely became more closely connected with Cambridge than formerly. Several of the prebendaries were either heads of houses or professors. The need to pass to and fro' between Ely and Cambridge became more insistent, and the Dean and Chapter decided to set up a barge of their own. This College barge had money

spent upon it in 1664. Edmund Mott, the boatbuilder, did a good deal of work upon it. He provided a new sail, a pair of oars, mats for the seats, curtains and other things. No doubt this barge contributed greatly to the ease and comfort of a journey from Ely to Cambridge. For more than a hundred years the river was to be the best means of communication between the two places. Then at long last came a road practicable for wheeled traffic. The prebendaries bought themselves carriages and horses. Their old barge rotted in disuse.

The familiar name of Robert Pike, joiner, has now yielded to that of Anthony Brignal, who is one of the new singing men, or lay clerks, and a superior sort of carpenter. He made a new pulpit. Judging by its cost, £25, it should have been rather a nice thing. However, it has not survived to our time. Bishop Yorke replaced it somewhere about the year 1800 with a pulpit in so-called "Norman" style. This, in its turn, has been replaced by another in Strawberry Hill Gothic. Not knowing what Anthony Brignal's pulpit was like, but knowing its successors, one yearns for it simply on the principle of *omne pro ignoto magnificum*. Brignal did work upon the new boat and was paid £6 8s. 9d. for "worke and stuffe." Mott was a mere boat-builder. But this was to be a luxury ship, and it provided scope for a clever wood-carver to exercise his skill and fancy. Brignal also ran up a big bill for work done in the organ loft. He made what was called "a Spitwheele" for public use at the Audit. He was musician enough to turn an honest penny by pricking books for the choir. Altogether a highly competent person. What with the stipend of his lay clerkship and his receipts as carpenter, joiner, and wood-carver, he must have been comfortably prosperous. Doubtless the rise in the cost of living was forcing the lay clerks to find money where they could. In Pre-Restoration days they subsisted upon their stipends. Some of them held other small paid offices about the Cathedral. But on the whole they had not engaged in crafts and trades. Anthony Brignal was the new-fashioned lay clerk whom changed times and straitened circumstances had produced. Probably old Mr. Bradford and old Mr. Cadman, survivors of

a former age, looked with scant approval at the activities of Anthony, and said that he had too many irons in the fire ever to become a good singing man.

King Charles II showed his royal care for cathedrals when he decreed that their Statutes should be revised. The result so far as Ely was concerned was an excellent set of Statutes, given in 1666, and observed more or less dutifully up to this present. Not only by his grant of new Statutes, but also by some shrewd counsel addressed to Deans and Chapters on the subject of Leases did King Charles manifest his concern for cathedrals. He urged that henceforth the custom of granting leases upon lives should be abolished. It had enriched Deans and Canons as individuals, but had impoverished the corporate revenues of their cathedrals. A better system, and one which the King desired henceforth to prevail, would be to grant leases upon specified terms of years. In other words he urged Deans and Chapters to take more thought for corporate and less for personal advantage.

The new Statutes were much to be desired. But when they came, they came not without cost. In 1662 or the next year the Commissioners inspected the Cathedral and were entertained at an expense of £31. Next we hear of Dr. Brunsell, one of the prebendaries, as having a conference with them at Peterborough. The choice of Dr. Brunsell as a negotiator may not have been a happy one, for he was of a contentious and cantankerous temper. He does not appear in the business again. Henceforth Dr. Wren and Dr. Holder are the prebendaries appointed to conduct the negotiations. Various meetings were held between one or other of them and the Commissioners, and the attendant expenses, swelled the Account for 1665-66 by some forty pounds. When at last the Statutes had been agreed upon, somebody had to go up to London and receive them at White Hall. The Dean, Mr. Wilford, went himself, and he incurred considerable personal expenses which the Chapter had to reimburse. These included the hire of a boat to Lambeth and of a coach to White Hall. His Majesty was presented with a book very nicely got up. The gold fringe

for its strings cost twelve shillings and sixpence. The Statutes were duly received, and a record of their deposit in the Church Chest was made at the meeting of the Chapter in November, 1666. It would appear, however, that some of the business yet remained to be done, for in the following year Dr. Holder was again in attendance upon the Commissioners. This meeting took place at Huntingdon, and more than £20 had to be expended by Dr. Holder in connection with it. Altogether the matter of the new Statutes cost the Dean and Chapter the better part of £150.

Such additional expense must have been highly unwelcome, for they were being forced to spend huge sums upon the Western Steeple, in which structural weakness had suddenly declared itself. Their predecessors in the time of Dean Tyndall or Dean Caesar would have blenched at a total expenditure in 1668 of £1,900. Worse was in store next year, when the sum amounted to £2,900. To crown all in that same year came the news that His Majesty King Charles the Second was coming "to take a sight of the Cathedrall." This royal visit cost the Dean and Chapter £96.

It would be interesting to know what bells the Cathedral had to ring on that festive occasion. There had been recently a removal of heavy bells from the Western Steeple, and a transference of bells from the Lantern to take their place. If it is true that their excessive weight was the reason for removing the bells from the weak Western Steeple, why was "the Great Bell," which undeniably resided in the Lantern, put into their place? There would seem to have been no advantage in such an exchange. Regretfully one inclines to the opinion that "the Great Bell," though removed from the Lantern, was never re-hung in the Western Steeple. Sold for bell-metal, and going to swell the sum of thirty pounds or so which the Dean and Chapter received under that heading, "the Great Bell" melts out of history. Henceforth, though there is indeed "an Evening Bell," it speaks with a lighter voice, not with the deep full sound which Olliver Evans used to evoke when he drew

upon the rope and heard the solemn response of the metal monster who lived in the Lantern top.

Vails have increased in magnitude. When the Bishop's keeper brought the Dean and Chapter a present of a buck in pre-war days, his solatium was but ten shillings. In 1662 one pound was the recompense given to "Sir Will. Myleses body for bringing a burke." Gratuities on a larger scale were given not infrequently, as for instance £3 to Mr. Ferabosco, the organist, when he was to take his degree as Bachelor of Music at Cambridge. Minor Canon Hitch assisted the Chapter in the conduct of their manorial court and other business connected with their estates. He was gratified with a piece of plate to the value of £10. When the Bishop of Chester, John Pearson, formerly a member of their own body, sent the Chapter a book of ancient records, he received five pounds. A similar gift from Dugdale, author of the Monasticon, evoked only seven shillings in response. New bishops, such as Gunning, were complimented with a new singing book to use in the choir. His predecessor, Laney, who had subscribed £100 towards the repair of the Western Steeple, was sumptuously entertained for two days by the grateful Dean and Chapter when the strain upon their finances had somewhat lessened. This entertainment cost them £22. Good Bishop Laney was dead within a year. Two shillings were expended for "besomes and labourers to cleanse the church against ye Bp's interment."

From 1660 onward a section of the Account Book is devoted year by year to the record of monies dispensed in Almsgiving. This includes the amounts of rates paid for the poor in the Ely parishes. There are also a variety of small disbursements. Evidently the civil wars were being followed by an aftermath of unemployment and a general dislocation of the social structure. In the August of 1663 "a poor Bohemian minister" comes for relief and is gratified with five shillings. He is followed in November by "a poor clergyman," whose less romantic tale wins him a mere half-crown. Ex-service men turn up from time to time. Cornet Morley was one. After him came an unnamed poor man "who had served the

King," another who had been prisoner to the Dutch, and seven "Portugall soldiers." Shipwrecked sailors, landed at Lynn and making their way to London, were frequent applicants for help. Some gentlemen and merchants cast away upon the coast of Scotland received a half-crown in 1671. Bohemians of different sorts, a Helvetian recommended by the University, men who said that they had escaped from captivity to the Turks, poor gentlewomen who had been stripped by the wild Irish—these were samples of the kind of people whom the Treasurer had to help. Add to these "a poore girle" with no story to her name who took sixpence from Dr. Womack, occasional poor women who had three children at a birth, old decayed gentlemen, a person named Burcherus Germanus, the old man who came to prayers and had a shilling to reward his devotion, and "Widdow Taylor of Ely when she lay wounded by a Bore." These all received from the Treasurer such small reliefs as he thought fit to bestow. There must have been many other applicants who applied in vain or were driven away by the servants. A Chapter order made in 1663 forbade beggars to come into the College. But the need for charity was recognised, and bread was ordered to be given to the poor at the charge of the Dean and Chapter. The sum of ten shillings was to be expended every week, and the Treasurer was to have care for the disposal of it.

The Account Book closed in the year 1677. It was the year of Dean Mapletoft's death and of Dean Spencer's appointment. Peter Gunning had been bishop of Ely for two years.

The damages done in the time of the Commonwealth had been repaired so far as repair was possible. The finances of the Cathedral had been brought into order. The period which began with Dean Spencer's installation was to be one of prosperity and wise administration.

REGINALD GIBBON.

Art. IV.—THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE CHURCH.

I.

To-day the priesthood of the Church is vested in a small detached body of men. The result is that our teaching and our practice are in confusion and conflict, and an atmosphere of unreality is created in which it is difficult for souls to breathe.

(1) No one would willingly admit that the existence of a spiritual society ought to depend upon Mammon, or that the question whether Christians should, or should not, observe rites ordained by Christ himself should turn upon the point whether there was, or was not, money to provide a stipend. Yet that is the fact. No stipends no clergy, is practically the universal rule. The Church is, as a matter of fact, tied to the chariot wheels of Mammon. Everyone experiences it, no one acknowledges it. The fact is not faced, but concealed under a cloud of specious words. That produces an atmosphere of unreality. When leaders gloss over, or ignore, something that all the people know by experience, how can men who know it well by experience not be affected by that?

I do not mean that men consciously realize any incongruity. Here, and throughout this paper, I am saying that men are affected, and seriously affected, by influences which they do not analyse, and cannot express. Here, e.g. they know the fact, but the meaning of the fact they have not questioned. Nevertheless that meaning is there, and it affects them. They feel a burden, a chain; they express weariness. They have a dim sense that there is something wrong. And it is that dim sense of something wrong and that their leaders have not faced it which produces the feeling that the Church is full of unreality.

(2) We create dioceses by drawing lines upon the map. Almost the whole world is now included in some diocese, and

the diocese is often of enormous extent. The question at once arises what we mean by the term "bishop." When I was in Canada I heard a bishop describe a journey which he had recently made, in the course of which he had baptized children of ten years and married their parents. He said that in his diocese 31,000 Anglicans were without any ministration whatever. I have heard bishops accept the fact that some minister, who was not one of their clergy, held a service, as a sufficient excuse for not providing regular Church ministrations. And I have heard other bishops say that the Church people here or there were quite out of their reach. In what sense then, can the bishop be called bishop of those people? Geographically they are within his diocese, spiritually he can do nothing for them. He cannot minister to them personally, neither can he minister to them through his stipendiary clergy; for he has neither enough men nor enough money to do that. Can he then be called their bishop without unreality? When Ignatius wrote "Do nothing without the bishop," the bishop was not a remote person who might, or might not, be able to visit the place once or twice in his lifetime. Does the term "bishop" imply no spiritual relationship, no responsibility for the spiritual state of those whose bishop he is said to be? If an overseer cannot oversee, if a pastor cannot feed, the flock, can he properly be called overseer, or pastor, of that flock? Is there not a profound unreality here? Men are given an empty word in place of a reality. Must they not feel that?

(3) We create parishes by drawing lines upon a map. Some of these parishes are of immense extent, but they do not necessarily cover the whole diocese. Large parts of some dioceses are outside the limits of any parish. Within the limits of the parish many are often spiritually outside. The "chaplain," or the "priest in charge" cannot possibly know personally and intimately all the people in his parish who call themselves C. of E. The result is a profound unreality. We still recognize a local Church, we still recognize that a local Church is a body of Christians with its own proper ministers and the sacraments inherent in it. Where there springs up a large

town, there we set a member of the clerical order to reside permanently, even if the cleric has to be withdrawn from some wide country district. That in itself proves that we do not consider an occasional service held by an itinerant cleric the proper organization of a Church; but outside the towns, in the country, the paper parish is the rule.

When I was in Kenya last year I made careful enquiry in four "chaplaincies" which were actually occupied during my visit, leaving out of account one "chaplaincy" which was vacant, and all the country which was not nominally in any chaplaincy. I found that in those four chaplaincies, services had been held during the previous twelve months at 53 centres: at only 4 of these more than once a month, at 13 once a month, at 36 less frequently than once a month, that is, at intervals ranging from once in six weeks to once or twice a year. Now that services were held at those centres at all proved that there were groups of Christians there who desired some local Church service, and could not be told that they ought to go somewhere else. That those 53 centres were the only places at which Churches should have been established is incredible. It is often extremely difficult to discover why services are held at one place rather than at another. I can hardly imagine anyone attempting to argue that it is divinely right and desirable that at Nairobi there should be regular services every Sunday, at four other places once a fortnight, at 13 once a month, at 36 less frequently than that, or that this is proper Church organization providing proper Church life for Christian souls. But that example is no extraordinary one. In almost every diocese overseas we are told of clergy who are in charge of a dozen or more little congregations, and four is so common as to be looked upon as normal. I have been quite taken aback by the way in which bishops have said to me: "They can get a service once a month, if they choose to take a little trouble." As if "getting a service" were Church life, and "once a month" almost ideal! And it is not even true. A chaplain may hold a service at a centre once a month, and it may be once a month for him; but anyone who knows anything at all about colonial conditions knows that it can not be once a month

for men who must leave their farms to travel twelve or twenty miles to that centre, or for women with little children, or for young men who for three out of every four Sundays have to occupy themselves as best they may and forget on which Sunday the chaplain may be expected. And, as I said, in Kenya, in the occupied "chaplaincies" out of 53 centres there were less than a third which had a service even nominally once a month. And I have been asked the pertinent question whether Christ, in instituting his Church, intended its services to be expensive luxuries difficult of attainment.

That these paper parishes are not units is seen the moment that any local question arises, as e.g. the putting up of a building: that no one of the congregations is a Church is seen the moment that the chaplain's car breaks down on the road. A body which cannot perform its own proper rites is not a Church. To call it by that name is unreal: it is spiritually false. To pretend that men for whom a "chaplain" turns up at intervals to hold a service enjoy Church life is self-deception.

Men do not think these things out; they dumbly feel them. They feel that there is no Body which they can recognize, in which they find fellowship, and they want fellowship in a real Body. They know that the Church is supposed to be such a Body, and they cannot find it. The whole becomes unreal. They think of the Church, many of them openly speak of the Church, as the home of unreal words, and when men think of the Church as the home of unreal words they too often cease to pay due heed to anything that its preachers say.

(4) The unreality of the Diocese, of the Parish, of the local Church, touches also the Sacraments. So long as the priesthood of the Church is vested in a small body of professional clerics, so long will the reality of the Sacraments as a Corporate Act be lost. When we are told that Christ ordained his Last Supper as a rite to be observed by all his people, when we are told that two Sacraments are generally necessary to Salvation, but are also told by the same teachers that Christians must not observe the Lord's Supper, that they must not offer their Eucharist, unless they can secure the services of one of that

small body of professional clerics, and when multitudes of Christians can only secure those services rarely, and other multitudes not at all, do we not all feel that there is here incongruity, contradiction, unreality? The clergy may shut their eyes to it; but men who are not of the clergy generally feel it. The observance of the Lord's Supper appears not the proper rite of Christian men, but a spiritual luxury appreciated by individuals. Little groups are discouraged from observing it; members of large groups see no reason why they should. Naturally. The teaching of the Sacraments in the hands of a small body of priests is contradictory. They inevitably blow hot and cold. They say "necessary," they say "impossible," with the same mouth. The last Lambeth Conference said in its Report: "Hundreds of thousands of Christians of our own and other races are living and, as things are at present, must continue to live almost entirely cut off from the ministry of the Sacraments," and left it at that. Who, then, can believe them, when they teach the Church Catechism? One bishop told me: "We leave them to the uncovenanted mercies of God. You lay too much stress on the Sacraments: I believe men can be saved without the Sacraments." But is that what a bishop is consecrated for? Is it his office to leave his people to the uncovenanted mercies of God? That is the utter negation of the Church. The teaching of the Prayer Book and of the Bible is not that. Who, then, can hold the Bible and the Prayer Book in his hand and profess to teach those books, and yet talk as the Lambeth Conference talked, or as that Bishop talked, and not be liable to an accusation of unreality. The words are there, but the reality is gone out of them. The Church is presented as the home of unreal, meaningless phrases. That is what men feel: that is what I feel; and I sympathize with them. But I differ from them in that I am sure that the reality is there, however concealed by our modern traditions, and that we may recover it, if we will fight for it.

II.

So long as the priesthood of the Church is exclusively vested in a small body of professionals, all that unreality

is inevitable. The only hope of recovering reality in the Church scattered throughout the world is to recover the priesthood of the Body, and with it the reality of the Local Church as a Body, the Body of Christ, there where the Christians are, whether few or many in number, even if only one household.

The Church is a Body, the Sacraments are the rites of the Body, and the Priesthood is in the Body. The universal is in the particular as truly as the particular is in the universal Church.

I might appeal to the precedent of early Church practice, and ask whether it is conceivable that when the Christians in Jerusalem were scattered abroad after the persecution about Stephen and went everywhere preaching the Word they were all ordained. Is it reasonable to suppose that men fleeing from persecution stop to seek ordination on the eve of their flight? But did they not observe, and teach others to observe, the rites of Christ? We know that at Antioch they did so. Then why not elsewhere? I might ask whether Aquila or Priscilla, on their return to Rome, found the observance of the Lord's Supper with which they were familiar at Corinth unknown in Rome, because no Apostle had yet visited Rome? I might ask whether, when Titus was sent to set in order things that were wanting and to ordain elders in every city in Crete, the observance of the Lord's Supper was unknown there. I might ask whether all those unknown Evangelists who, according to Eusebius, went about preaching and establishing Churches were ordained in our modern sense, and whether the rites of the Church were not part of their teaching, when they established Churches. I might ask how it came to pass that early Church Fathers so often refer to the prophecy of Malachi: "In every place incense is offered to my Name and a pure offering" as fulfilled in the universal offering of the Christian Eucharist, as though they had never heard of Christians who did not offer that sacrifice. I might point out that every rule confining the ministration of the Sacraments to regularly ordained clergy was passed in settled and regularly organized Churches, and was designed to secure the proper administration of the rites,

not to annul them for Christian men. But we have used those rules not to establish Churches but to hinder their establishment, not to secure the administration of the rites of Christ but to annul them, not to enable men more surely to receive Christ's grace but to prevent them.

I might appeal to our common sense and to expediency, pointing out that, if the Church is designed to spread throughout the world, it is absurd to restrain its expansion by limiting its ministry to such clergymen as can be provided with stipends or sent out from a few theological colleges. I might point out that those modern religious sects which expect anyone who receives the teaching to propagate it and to join in fellowship with others who hold it, flourish and increase, often to our dismay. I might point to the spread of Islam. Surely our common sense should tell us that a religion which any member can propagate, a society which any member can establish, has a great advantage over a society which demands that its members shall sit still until a professional can be sent to look after them, and to officiate for them.

But such arguments I deem unworthy of this theme. When Christ denounced a tradition he appealed not to precedents, nor to expediency, but to the character of God. The Apostles did the like. When men wanted to hinder the establishment of Churches among the Gentiles unless they were brought under the yoke of the Law, St. Peter's answer was, "Why tempt ye God?" And throughout his Epistles St. Paul's appeal is to the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ. The true Christian appeal against any tradition is that it is contrary to the mind of Christ, and the character of Christ, and the work of Christ. I ask, then:

Is it true that in the New Testament Christ is presented to us as the Priest?

Is it true that in the Eucharist Christ is the Priest, and that God alone can consecrate the elements of bread and wine, that the faithful who partake of them may be united to Christ, feeding upon him? Is it true that the Consecration prayer in our Prayer Book is a *Prayer*?

Is it true that the Church is priestly because Christ is in her, and that Christians are a "royal priesthood," and that they are said to be made by him "priests unto God"? Is it true that the "Amen" of the Church is an essential part of the Service?

Is it true that Christ said, Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them? And is it true that where he is, there is the Priest?

If those questions must be answered in the affirmative, I ask what is the character of Christ revealed to us? Is his character such that when Christian men meet far from any episcopally ordained cleric, desiring his grace, desiring to proclaim his Redemption and to sing the song of the redeemed, desiring to feed upon him, desiring to offer his Sacrifice on behalf of their neighbours and of the whole world; when they devoutly pray that prayer of Consecration, Is his character as revealed to us the character of one who will reject them?

I have asked that question and have generally received the answer "He would receive them," but with a "But," and dark speeches about irregularities and doubtful validities which have robbed the assent of all its power.

I say, then:

Christ ordained the rite of his Last Supper to be a means of grace for all his people. No Christian ought ever to be deprived of it. Christ commanded: no man can annul his command.

The Christian Eucharist is a great bond of fellowship. No Christian ought to be deprived of that fellowship.

The Christian Eucharist is a great song of Redemption. No Christian should be forbidden to sing it.

The Christian Eucharist is a great witness to the world, a proclamation of the Gospel. No Christian ought to be hindered from bearing that witness and proclaiming that Gospel by his observance of it.

And I say that this is in accordance with the mind of Christ, and the will of God revealed to us in Christ.

Where the life must be lived, there should be the grace

and the glory, the comfort and the witness. The song, the witness, the proclamation, should go throughout the world wherever a Christian is to be found: the fellowship, the mutual support, of united offering of that Sacrifice should be wherever two or three can meet together. The heathen, the indifferent, the careless, should hear it, should see it, wherever Christians go. They should know by experience and observation that there is a real Body performing its own proper Christian rite there at their very doors, and that they may learn that song, and join that Body, and share that eternal hope, if they will. Men are always telling us that Christians ought to preach: when they offer their Eucharist Christ himself preaches his own sermon. The meeting of a Body to observe that rite is a preaching of the Gospel of the most arresting and convincing order. It should be widespread.

But to-day it is taken away, concentrated in a few "centres," and robbed of its power by turning it into a service which only a few professionals may perform, whilst the majority of the Christians are not even expected to take any part in it. Nay, it is commonly supposed that if any Christian man recovered the truth and practised it, he would be guilty of an ecclesiastical offence. Wherever I go, when I speak of these things, and tell men that they not only may, but ought to, bear that witness to Christ before their neighbours, I am constantly met with the reply, "But what would the bishop say?" A bishop who cannot minister to them, who can do nothing, or little, positive for them, who will not, or cannot, help and guide and ordain them, exercises a powerful negative influence. If they break all the commandments of God, they are not afraid that he will say anything to them personally; but if they want to stand up as Christians and bear their Christian witness by doing what Christ told them to do, they are afraid that, if the bishop hears of it, he will reprimand them. Ought that so to be? It is so.

There is here no suggestion that a layman can, in the absence of an ordained priest, take upon himself the functions of an ordained priest. That was what Lightfoot in his famous

essay suggested, and to that suggestion grave objection was raised, and I think rightly. If, by definition, a layman is not a priest, it would appear obvious that he cannot perform the functions of a priest. Even if the whole Body is priestly, it does not necessarily follow that any individual member of it can perform the office of an ordained priest. I am not falling into that fallacy. The fallacy arises only when the priesthood of the Body is exclusively vested in a detached body of men. The moment that we decline so to extract it, and think of the Body as priestly because Christ is with it, and in it, the definition which creates the difficulty breaks down. No individual layman, then, usurps priestly functions in ministering the Sacraments. The Body is performing its priestly office.

There is here no Congregationalism in the sense in which that word is commonly used to-day. Modern Congregationalism is supposed to treat every congregation as a totally distinct and self-sufficient body. There is nothing of that sort here; but only a recognition of facts. Where the bishop cannot act, he cannot act: when and where the regularly ordained priest is not, he is not. We ought to face realities and deal with realities. It is no modern sectarian doctrine that where Christians are there is the Church, and where Christ is there is the Priest. That is a truth repeated constantly both by early Fathers of the Church and by modern theologians of repute. The episcopally unorganized prepares the way for the episcopally organized, unless it starts as a revolt against episcopacy.

To-day men need to be told that they may, that they ought to, obey Christ and observe his Sacraments. What a sentence that is! It ought to be unnecessary, absurd: all Christians ought to know it without being told. But they have been taught the contrary. Many clerics openly, bishops by their silence, teach that Christians can not, and must not, observe their proper rites unless they can provide a stipend and be provided with a cleric, in spite of the fact that the clerics are not sufficiently numerous. To-day Christians need to be told repeatedly and authoritatively that where the ordained cleric is not, Christ is still with them, and that Christ is the

Priest, and that Christ will not reject their Eucharist. Where Christians are there is the Church and where Christ is there is the Priest.

So the great song of Redemption, the witness of the Church, might fill the world. So the Church, as the fellowship in Christ of those who sing that song and glory in that Redemption, would come to life. The reality of it would be apparent, its power manifested. The unreality of vain and empty words would fade away into its proper nothingness; and we should escape from the slavery of Mammon and legal tradition into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

ROLAND ALLEN.

Art. V.—NEWMAN AND THE DOCTRINE OF DEVELOPMENT.

The idea of Development is an essentially modern idea. It came in with the Modern World in the eighteenth century. Newton and Leibniz, with their discovery of the infinitesimal calculus, had foreshadowed it in the realm of mathematics. The same Leibniz had made it the basis of his monadology. Hegel had built up a whole theory of the Universe on an evolutionary basis. The doctrine lay behind Auguste Comte's Positivism. Herbert Spencer expounded the principles of Biology on evolutionary lines, and Darwin confirmed Herbert Spencer by setting forth the empirical evidence in support of biological evolution. The structure of modern thought in all its branches has become evolutionary in consequence.

The view of the growth of the concept of Development implied in the preceding paragraph has become a familiar one. Into it, it has now become usual to draw John Henry Newman. It is widely held that what Newman's contemporaries were applying to other spheres Newman himself, in his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine,* applied to the realm of theology. Many writers hold that herein lies Newman's chief contribution to theological science. They hold that he, like most of his contemporaries, came under the influence of the modern *Zeitgeist,* and thus introduced a principle into theology which reflected the spirit of the Modern Age.

The present paper will be concerned mainly with contesting this view. It will attempt to show that it was merely a theological quandary which forced the idea of development upon Newman, and that it was from a seventeenth century source—the Bull-Petavius controversy—that Newman derived the idea.

I.

To begin with, the modern idea of evolution, with its corollary the idea of progress, was an idea which in itself was in rooted antagonism to Newman's whole outlook on life. In the years 1833 to 1845, the Tractarian Movement was a continued protest against the liberalizing tendencies of contemporary thought. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Oxford had been more impervious to the influence of modern ideas than almost any other place in the kingdom. The seventeenth century, in which century Oxford had identified itself whole-heartedly with the Stuart cause, had been its golden age; and consequently when that cause fell on evil days, Oxford suffered with it. When in the eighteenth century the centre of English intellectual life moved from the Universities to the coffee-houses of Bath and London, the traditions of the seventeenth century survived mummified and lifeless by the banks of the Isis. Even the progressive Noetics had not been able to exercise enough influence seriously to alter this situation by 1833.

The Tractarians had no desire to change the principles on which the ethos and intellectual life of Oxford were built up. On the contrary, they strenuously resisted every attempt to alter them. The word "Reform" signified the new outlook; and consequently the principles of "Reform" were to be excluded at all costs from the realm of religion. The publication of Arnold's pamphlet on Church Reform in 1832, that of Hampden's *Observations on Religious Dissent* in 1834, and the appointment of Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in 1836, created storms among the Tractarians because of their liberalizing character. Throughout Tractarian times, the religious and theological ideal was a return to those principles of theology which underlay the great Divines of the seventeenth century. The Tractarian models were such men as Andrewes, Laud, Hammond, Cosin, Jeremy Taylor.

In Newman, the antipathy to these new principles, by this time collectively known as "Liberalism," was even more pronounced than in most of the other Tractarians. Newman's

conception of human nature was very deeply rooted in what Professors Brilioth and Webb have well described as his "Moralism." All knowledge is of account only in so far as it has moral implications, and learning pursued apart from its implications for conduct is worthless pains. Liberalism, Newman argued, is worthless just because it does not take the moral character of knowledge into account. It believes that Truth is a matter of speculation, and that man is able to attain to it in virtue of his intellectual acumen. Liberalism also has great faith in the possibilities of human progress. It believes that a time is coming upon earth when suffering shall be no more and when under the influence of progressive ideas a state of security shall be reached, possibly at the expense of religion altogether. Such optimism Newman never shared. He had no desire to share in it, either.

All the probabilities of the situation, therefore, are highly opposed to Newman's having borrowed that doctrine which has been reckoned as his chief contribution to Christian theology from a "Liberal" source.

II.

We must now proceed to examine the circumstances in which the doctrine of Development grew up in Newman's mind. This doctrine finds literary expression in two of his Anglican writings. The first is in a sermon preached before the University on the Feast of the Purification in 1843, and published subsequently in the same year in his collected *University Sermons*. The second is in his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* which was published just after his secession to Rome in October, 1845; it was a treatise written to account for his rejection of Anglicanism. That is, the doctrine of Development occurs only in writings written in the period which he describes as his "death-bed" in the Church of England. As far as the present writer is aware the doctrine is not to be found at all in Newman's writings of an earlier date.

In fact, it seems clear that Newman conceived of the

doctrine only after his retirement to Littlemore, consequent on the condemnation of *Tract* 90 in 1841. So far from its being a piece of purely academic theology, the doctrine of Development was expounded by Newman to meet a concrete theological dilemma in which he had become involved. He himself writes of the doctrine:—"It is undoubtedly an hypothesis to account for a difficulty" (*Doct. Dev.*, 27); "It is an expedient to enable us to solve what has now become a necessary and an anxious problem" (p. 28). What that problem was we must proceed to consider.

If the Tractarian Movement was an attempt to revivify the ethos of the seventeenth century, it was no less an attempt to reassert the principles of the Primitive Church. The doctrines upon which the Anglican Church was built were all to be found in Scripture; the official formularies made this clear enough. But it was not possible for the individual Christian to discover unaided the doctrines of the Church from Scripture alone. Scripture needed an interpreter. And Newman and the other Tractarians, following a hint given by Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel, in a sermon preached while Newman was an undergraduate, contended that Primitive Tradition must be that interpreter. Where obscurities remained in Scripture, the teaching of the Fathers was to be its key.

The keen interest in the Fathers stimulated by this appeal to Antiquity is well known. A vast Patristic literature came into being. Some of the *Tracts* themselves were concerned mainly with the Fathers. Concurrently with almost the earliest of the *Tracts,* a series of short pamphlets entitled *Records of the Church* appeared; these contained reprints of translations of early Christian documents. Far more important was the production of the *Library of the Fathers* under the editorship of Pusey, Newman, and Keble, of which the first volume to come out, Pusey's translation of St. Augustine's *Confessions,* appeared in 1838. Newman himself was actively concerned in these patristic studies. Even before the Movement is usually supposed to have started, Newman had completed a masterly study of the doctrine of the Trinity in the Primitive Church,

and this was published, under the title *The Arians of the Fourth Century,* at the end of 1833 (over a year after its completion). Newman also contributed a long series of articles to the *British Magazine* descriptive of the work and writings of several of the early Fathers; these were expanded into book-form, and appeared in 1840 under the title *The Church of the Fathers.* Later followed Newman's edition of some of the treatises of St. Athanasius, with extensive notes. The long Patristic quotations in the *Doctrine of Development* show that this interest had not abated. In fact, from 1828 onwards, as long as Newman remained in the Church of England, Patristic study was a field in which he was continuously working.

This intensive study of the Fathers was, as has been stated, no mere antiquarianism. Newman pursued it in the conviction that it would reveal the basic principles of the Catholic religion. The Church had various *differentiae,* termed "Notes," by which she could be identified; and that Note on which the Church of England rested her case was pre-eminently the Note of Antiquity. The appeal to Antiquity was a corner-stone in the Anglican apologetic against Rome. Rome for her part believed that the teachings of the Primitive Church needed to be supplemented by tradition; and Anglican theologians held that while Rome was right *de facto,* she was wrong *de jure.* Anglicans pointed out—and Roman theologians in the main agreed,—that the formularies, and still more the practice, of Romanism gave instances at every turn in which the Apostolic Faith had been added to in later ages. As long as the Anglican appeal to the Note of Antiquity with its rejection of all later additions to the Faith could be defended as a basis of Christian truth and practice, the Roman system was in the eyes of the Tractarians indefensible. It was true that the Church of England also had her weak spots. There were certain Notes of the Church which were less evidently manifested in her system and teaching than could have been hoped for. But whenever the Note of *Antiquity* was made the criterion of judgement, the Church of England could challenge comparison with any other communion in Christendom. The more intensively the Fathers were studied, the more clear did it

become that Canterbury, and not Rome, had preserved the Primitive Faith.

Such was the line of apologetic held by Newman (in common with nearly all the other Tractarians) up to the year 1839. In that year, two incidents in Patristic history made a deep impression upon him. The first was the condition of the Church resulting from the Monophysite schism, the second a truncated quotation from St. Augustine—*securus iudicat orbis terrarum*—which had been used by Wiseman in an Article in the *Dublin Review* for August, 1839.

The first revealed a situation in the history of the fifth century which foreshadowed the situation of Anglicanism as Newman found it. How it impressed him shall be described in his own words: "My stronghold was Antiquity; now here, in the middle of the fifth century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the *Via media* was in the position of the Oriental Communion; Rome was where she now is; and the Protestants were the Eutychians." (*Apologia*, ed. 1931, 210 f). The ecclesiastical divisions of the fifth century seemed thus to foreshadow the state of affairs which existed in Tractarian England; and the one party in the fifth century which survived and proved to be the one fold of Christ was that which was in communion with Rome—the prototype of the present Roman Catholic Church. Before long this argument (a singularly feeble one) led Newman to become "seriously alarmed."

The *Dublin Review* article of Wiseman—who, of course, knew nothing of Newman's doubts occasioned by his study of the Monophysites—was an attempt to show that the Donatists of the fourth century could be regarded as prototypes of Anglicans. This analogy does not seem to have influenced Newman particularly—perhaps because Newman was much less familiar with the history of early Latin Christianity than with the history of the East. But the words which Wiseman had culled from St. Augustine, *securus iudicat orbis terrarum*, made a great impression upon him. Here, it seemed, St.

Augustine was setting up as the principal "Note" of the Church not Antiquity but "Catholicity." The true Church was that Church which was spread throughout the whole world. Here was one of the Fathers—a representative of Antiquity—actually speaking in defence of the Note by which Rome set so much store, that of Catholicity.

Newman received a third blow—of a similar character—somewhat later when engaged on an investigation of the Arian Controversy. These three blows together shattered his earlier conviction that Anglicanism was a reassertion of the teaching of the Fathers.

III.

But though Newman thought that the Anglican edifice had thus come crashing down, he was faced with a very serious difficulty. All along he had contended that the specific teachings of the Church of Rome were *not* those of antiquity. The Tractarians had pointed out time and time again that Rome had added to and corrupted the Primitive Faith, and plenty of instances of such additions and corruptions had been adduced. Newman had fully shared in this teaching and produced such instances. The teachings of Rome, he had maintained, were *not* those of the early Fathers. Accordingly in 1841, faced with the dilemma of history, he proceeded to change his view not on the question *de facto*, but on that *de jure*. He held after 1841 as he had held before 1841, that Rome and Antiquity did not agree. But after 1841 he began to argue further that they *need not* agree. And in order to explain this non-agreement between the Primitive Church and Rome as she now is, Newman conceived the doctrine of Development. It was, that is, "an hypothesis to account for a difficulty."

IV.

Now teaching on the Development of Christian doctrine such as Newman expounded it had been set forth two centuries earlier by the learned Jesuit theologian, Dionysius Petavius,

and, unless we are mistaken, this was the source whence Newman derived the idea. The Jesuits of the seventeenth century saw more clearly than many of their contemporaries the limitations of the appeal to Antiquity. Conscious, as a comparatively new society, that they were in the van of progress, they believed they had great duties towards the new age. If they looked back to the past for the substance of their teaching, they were convinced that in its details, the teaching which had been inherited from Antiquity needed adaptation to the needs of the time. Petavius saw clearly that a good many of the things that the modern Roman Church taught were not those taught in the Primitive Church. Consequently, though his great theological work, *Dogmata Theologica,* was concerned with the doctrine of the Trinity and the application of the concept of development to it in the early Fathers, there can be little doubt that Petavius had his eye all the time on the "modern" Roman Catholic doctrines.

Bull's defence of the Nicene Faith was written as a reply to Petavius. The future Bishop of St. Davids came forward after Petavius' death in 1652 as a champion of orthodoxy. Already before he entered the arena in the matter of Trinitarian controversy, Bull had defended against the Calvinistic doctrine of works and election, advocated by many of his contemporaries, more reasonable (or, as his contemporaries preferred to say, more Arminian), teaching on these matters. In this way he had incurred suspicions as to his orthodoxy, particularly because at the time he wrote Arminian teaching was commonly associated with Socinian doctrines of the Trinity. The *Defensio Nicenae Fidei* was thus written with the dual intent of vindicating himself from the suspicion of heresy and of refuting the errors of Petavius.

Bull draws out clearly in sections 7—9 of the 'Proemium' to the *Defensio* his relationship to Petavius. He pays a high tribute to the Jesuit's learning. He describes him as a *vir magnus atque omnigena literatura instructissimus.* He quotes a passage from the first book of Petavius' *De Trinitate* in which

Petavius had contended that in Ante-Nicene times the subject of the Trinity had as yet been neither *patefactum* nor *constitutum*; and proceeds to shew that such a view had very serious implications. Thus, it implied that the heresy of Arius which the Nicene Council condemned agreed in its most important particular with the teaching of the ancient Catholic fathers. It implied further that when the Bishop of Alexandria and the other Catholic doctors at the beginning of the Fourth Century accused Arius of being the author of a new doctrine hitherto unheard of in the Catholic Church they were speaking merely oratorically—or, rather, to put it bluntly, that they told noble lies in true Jesuit fashion in order that they might serve the Catholic cause (*hoc est, si res planius dicenda sit, insigniter mentitos fuisse, more scilicet Jesuitico, ut catholicae causae inservirent*). What an unfortunate event it was for Arius that Petavius had not been born in the fourth century! What a fine patron and advocate the heresiarch would then have had of his cause!

Bull then proceeds to discuss the question of Petavius' motives. He justly exonerates the Jesuit from any secret attachment to unorthodox views on the Trinity. But he insists that his adversary's end is none other than to justify in principle additions to the Faith as have been made by such so-called Ecumenical Councils as Trent, although Trent was really anything but a Council which could claim ecumenicity (*cum Tridentina conventio quidvis potius quam generale concilium dicenda sit*).

Bull's work made a great impression throughout Europe. Bossuet, conducting a fierce war against the Jesuits at the time of its appearance, was delighted to see such a blow struck against one of the leading Jesuit theologians, albeit at the hands of a heretic. In his elation, he caused the work of Bull to be brought to the official notice of the Gallican clergy; and as a result the author of the *Defensio* received a tribute unwonted for an Anglican theologian. He was sent "the unfeigned congratulations of the whole clergy of France assembled at St. Germains for the great service he had done to the Catholic

Church by defending the determination of the necessity of believing the divinity of the Son of God." The last few words had a particularly venomous and unjustifiable reference to Petavius, who (as Bull had recognized) was obviously sound in his *own* Trinitarian beliefs.

V.

It has been necessary to recall the work of Petavius and Bull in the seventeenth century, because the writings of these two theologians undoubtedly exercised an enormous influence upon Newman. It must be remembered that Newman wrote before the days of Migne's *Patrologia,* and that at the time it was the custom to rely upon second-hand authorities to an extent which would be less admissible to-day. Access to the original writings of many of the Fathers was not easy in Tractarian times. Accordingly, we find Newman constantly quoting secondary authorities; and of these authorities none more than Bull and Petavius. The *Defensio Nicenae Fidei* and the *Dogmata Theologica* were continuously at hand as his two chief sources from the time that he began to work on the *Arians* until he finished *The Development of Christian Doctrine.* A study of the footnotes to all Newman's writings will shew the extent of his dependence upon these two authors.

Moreover, apart from their intrinsic excellence, there was a circumstance which naturally called the attention of Oxford scholars to the work of Bull (and consequently also of Petavius) just at the juncture when Newman began his systematic work on the Fathers, i.e. the Long Vacation of 1828 (cp. *Apologia,* 127). At this date Edward Burton was one of the most prominent and able of the Oxford theologians; he had been Bampton Lecturer in 1828, and became Regius Professor of Divinity on the death of Bishop Lloyd in 1829. Now in 1827 Burton finished the editing of a magnificent reprint of the works of Bull. This study has involved a great deal of work upon the text and it was received at once with acclamation. In these circumstances it was inevitable that the excellence of

Bull should have been brought before Newman's notice; and in his short preface to *The Arians* he singles out the *Defensio Nicenae Fidei* as one of those works which "evince gifts, moral and intellectual, of so high a cast, as to render it a privilege to be allowed to sit at the feet of their authors, and to receive the words which they have been, as it were, commissioned to deliver."

Now, it is highly significant that the issue which divided Bull and Petavius was the very issue which divided the pre-1841 and the post-1841 Newman. Petavius had contended that though the *substance* (*substantia*) of all Catholic doctrine was bequeathed to the Primitive Church, the form which it later took was dependent on subsequent definition. Bull, on the other hand, held that the whole of truth in its fullest form, was to be found in the Church at the outset.

Though Newman had constantly quoted the fathers from Petavius by reason of the extent of the material contained in his works, it was preeminently with Bull that he agreed in the interpretation of them in his pre-1841 days. But, as we have seen, about that year the situation began gradually to change. Newman came to believe that the appeal to Antiquity was no longer a valid one. That the Church of England could not appeal to Antiquity was proved by the slender evidence of the history of the Monophysite and the Arian Controversies. That the Church of Rome also could not find her specific doctrines in Antiquity was a belief which had become so deeply ingrained into his way of thinking that this way out had also to be given up. Accordingly the appeal to Antiquity had to be abandoned altogether. Bull had to be sacrificed on the altar to Petavius. What more reasonable than that Newman should have taken over the method of interpreting doctrine which Petavius himself advocated?

VI.

If this was the source whence Newman derived his doctrine, there is another consideration which should not be

overlooked in connexion with his treatment of it. This was Newman's conviction that there was an element of mystery surrounding all religious truth. As the mind seeks to penetrate into the realm of Ultimate Reality, it finds that this Reality is shrouded by an ever-deeper cloud of mystery. The awfulness of the Being of God can never be apprehended by the finite mind. To suppose otherwise is to sacrifice those aspects of religion which have their corollary in humility and lowliness. Religion has ever been at root a mystery; and the religious soul has ever been conscious of its inability to grasp the deepest truths. Such teaching, highly characteristic of Newman and largely inherited from Bishop Butler, was intimately connected with the deep Moralistic strain which ran all through him.[1]

Newman contended, particularly in his 1843 Purification Sermon, that it was the function of the theologian to seek to interpret this Mystery which could never be apprehended in its essence. To the successive ages of the Church, different aspects of the truth were revealed. Each age saw the truth only "one-sidedly" (to use Husserl's term, *einseitig*). Newman had expounded this doctrine already in the *Prophetical Office* (1837). "Prophets or Doctors," he wrote, "are the interpreters of the revelation; they unfold and define its mysteries; they illuminate its documents, they harmonize its contents, they apply its promises . . . Prophetical Tradition . . . is that body of teaching which is offered to all Christians even at the present day, though in various forms and measures of truth, in different parts of Christendom, partly being a comment, partly an addition upon the articles of the Creed." Accordingly, it is inevitable that Christian teaching should "develop." The successive apprehensions of the central core of truth imply that it will receive constantly changing forms.

Here again we see that Newman is separated by an enormous gulf from all modern ideas of immanental develop-

[1] Cp. C. C. J. Webb, *The Religious Thought of the Oxford Movement*; and my own forthcoming study of *Newman*.

ment. As the concept is used in biology, in history, in geology, in sociology, *real* development is implied. Hegel, again when he expounded the development of ideas, thought of a *real* development. But with Newman it is only a development of the *apprehension* of truths which are themselves unchanging. Newman never thought that truth itself developed, but only the forms in which it presented itself to the Church in successive ages.

F. L. Cross.

Art. VI.—CHRISTOPHER WREN—A COMPARISON.

With the advance of the Renaissance, European Architecture became informed with a new spirit in which the appreciation of abstract form takes the place of the emphasis on construction in the buildings of the Middle Ages. This change of outlook, in which the individual takes the place of the collectivist, marks a significant break between the architecture of the old world and the new. Compare, for instance, the principles involved in the design of Sainte Chapelle, Paris, with Bramante's charming Tempietto in the cloister of San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, illustrated here respectively in Figs. I, II. Here are two buildings totally different in form and intention, each reflecting fundamental differences of outlook in design. In the first instance the French example emphasises form in terms of construction, a pre-eminent factor in shaping the development of Gothic architecture. It is, in fact, form and proportion arrived at through an organic system of balanced thrusts which, neutralized at intervals by buttresses, gives to Sainte Chapelle a dynamic and aspiring quality. This will be clearer by reference to one of the accompanying illustrations.

In Fig. III (A) is shown the plan of a small barrel vaulted chamber in which the area of solid wall greatly exceeds that of the window openings. This form of construction would imply that the wall gives continuous support to the uniform distributed thrust of the vault. This, very briefly, was the method of construction generally attempted by the Romanesque builders.

Now turning to Fig. III (B), the plan of Sainte Chapelle, an exact reversal of this principle is evident. The continuity of the supporting wall is replaced by a series of solids which, spaced at intervals, gather up the resultant thrusts from the ribbed vault. The nett result is that the wall looses all structural

significance, and the area formerly devoted to it becomes a field of operation for the genius of the stained glass artist. Further, there is full justification on structural grounds, apart from purely æsthetic values, for every element in the building. To sum up in the concise terms of Mr. Geoffrey Scott, "in no architecture in the world had so many features shown a more evidently constructive origin, or retained a more constructive purpose, than in Gothic." Indeed, the relentless pursuit of a construction in which the intellectual scaffold became too evident finally led to a literal collapse of the style at Beauvais, an event already foreshadowed in Sainte Chapelle.

On the other hand, the Humanist architect arrives at his result by totally different methods. To him, construction was but a means to an end, and rather than give to it outward expression, he generally, in fact, took great pains to conceal it. Hence the method adopted by Wren to support the lantern and cupola by a brick cone hidden between the internal and external domes of St. Paul's, an expedient that would have made a Gothic architect shudder. The architecture of the Renaissance, therefore, was not wholly dictated by construction or the consideration of materials arising therefrom. It was realized as an art with its own limitations and ideals and capable of fullest expression by humanist and abstract appearances of line, mass and proportion. In other words, a process that partly involves a translation of architecture into terms of ourselves by which, for instance, we testify metaphorically to the soaring lines of a pinnacle, the swelling mass of a dome, and to the relative proportions of a door or window opening to that of the human form. This, in the main, was the process of thought which led to the enthronement of the human personality as the sole arbiter of taste with power to select forms irrespective of their structural, material, or functional significance. For instance, it will be seen by reference to Fig. III (C) that the functional element of the Tempietto consists simply of a circular chamber enclosed by a wall that, in turn, supports a miniature dome; the whole is surrounded by a colonnade on the outside. This colonnade, which, incidentally, gives to the

Tempietto its static quality, is entirely independent of both the construction and purpose of the building, and could therefore be swept away without practical detriment to the whole. What, then, may be asked, is the explanation for its final justification? The answer is to be found in Bramante's deliberate choice of a colonnade as an interesting and beautiful form, and incidentally as a means to entrap the glancing shadows from the Italian sunlight on to his buildings. The same principle may be extended to Wren's "sham" walls at St. Paul's that built over the aisle walls screen off the Clerestory and the main structural lines of the building. Here he has been accused of building one half of the church to hide the other. But without them Wren would never have succeeded in securing the skilful relationship between the Dome and its superstructure on the exterior. Thus the Humanist architect takes supreme control in the creation of both the Tempietto and St. Paul's, a relationship that was more pronounced and intimate during the Renaissance than at any other period. The result was that with individual effort the key to the work was to be found in the man himself, his character, temperament, and outlook. This can be seen in England in its application to Inigo Jones and Wren who, by the great distinction of their work and far-reaching influence, went further and succeeded in stamping the architecture of their own times with a definite national character.

The masculine and unaffected nature of Inigo Jones is engraved in unmistakable terms on the austere façade of the Banqueting Hall, the only complete part of a palace that was to stretch three-quarters-of-a-mile along Whitehall. Indeed, so austere is this building, that in spite of undeniably fine qualities, one may almost be forgiven a sigh of relief that it was cut adrift a thousand feet short of its fulfilment. So, too, in the refined design of Raynham Hall, Norfolk, and the admirable simplicity of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, described at the time, with no small compliment, as the "handsomest barn in England," Inigo's assurance and command of his technique are abundantly clear. With Wren, however, this reflex of

human character in his work is still more marked. He appears as one of the most amiable and delightful figures in architectural history. His ideas as an architect were bold and original, his temper as a man generous and serene. We can forget all about the priggish letter to a fond parent written when he was nine years old, and indeed, that love-letter all about a " drowned watch " which, when repaired, was to possess the enviable felicity of being so near the lady's side, a letter, as pointed out by a recent writer, likely to exasperate any woman that received it. His great spirit finds more fitting expression in the serene façades of Trinity Library, and projected itself long after in many a sedate square and quiet Cathedral Close Yet Wren's work could be both grave and gay. His easy tolerance and friendly nature admitted a certain exuberance in his work, which if at times it was unduly stressed, yet inspired the flowing silhouettes of his steeples, that graceful procession of courtiers that pay homage by contrast and inflection to the majesty of his Dome.

Inigo Jones and Wren shared one thing in common: they were both persons of great mechanical resource and invention. The association of Inigo with Ben Johnson in the production of the Court masques and the ingenuity with which he furnished the King's carpenter with " rare devices," is well known. It is evident, from his constant quarrels with Ben Johnson, that his temper, like his architecture, was stern and outspoken. Though he professed himself the importer of Palladianism into England, yet his masterful genius did not allow the zeal of the scholar to subjugate the promptings of the artist. This is clearly seen when we compare Colin Campbell's pedantic and ridiculous copy of Palladio's villa at Mereworth with Inigo's great Banqueting Hall. Unlike Wren, he suffered that greatest ill-fortune to any architect, of being denied the opportunity to complete his finest buildings.

To the well-trained young architect in these days of limited opportunities Wren's career must appear an amazing phenomenon. Among other works, he built a Cathedral, fifty-three city churches, three palaces, two hospitals, and

finally, at the age of ninety-one, went quietly home to die in his sleep. Yet Wren accomplished all this with the absolute minimum of technical training; indeed, as Sir Reginald Blomfield points out, he may be said to have leaped from the platform of a Science Lecturer at Oxford on to the scaffold of one of his own buildings. It was here that he found the future environment of his architectural education. In 1662, at the outset of his career, he declined an offer to bury himself alive, so to speak, among the fortifications at Tangiers. He succeeded a few months later to the important office of Surveyor-General. This sudden appearance in the limelight of the Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the responsible role of a national architect seems to have been received everywhere with complete equanimity. In 1665 he went on a six months' visit to Paris with the avowed intention to bring home "all France on paper." Immediately after his return he was flung by fire into that fuller life of architecture arising out of an unprecedented architectural opportunity.

The Fire, and the chances it brought him, was the occasion for the exercise of that finer and broader inspiration upon which Wren's reputation mainly rests. He possessed in a unique degree a keen mental acumen to perceive by a flash of imagination the essentials of a great architectural conception. It is here that he claims kinship with Bramante and Michael Angelo, and shares the grand assurance of the Baroque masters and their ability to think of architecture in the grand manner. In this way he designed the superb vistas of his plan to rebuild London, a scheme in which he anticipated the grandeur of New Delhi. It was his intention to impress the beholder by a Forum-like preparation along the main approach to his Cathedral Piazza, echoing to some extent Bernini's grand gesture before the portals of St. Peter's. Sites for churches, though dotted about in a profusion that might well have bewildered any Bishop of London, were nevertheless determined with great judgement at the termination of vistas without obstruction to the traffic routes. The magnificent sanity of Wren's plan, presenting a conception of the City as a whole

and not as a collection of unrelated details, emphasizes the main contribution of the Renaissance to architecture, the contribution of a style that arose out of the ashes of Imperial Rome. The coherent order and grandeur of the vistas and open spaces of the eternal city rise again in the Piazzas, palaced streets, and gardens of the Renaissance.

Wren's power to conceive largely is again strikingly evident at Greenwich, his finest public building. It was his intention to clear away the Queen's House, that so inadequately resolves the duality of the great domed and colonnaded wings, and to rebuild it elsewhere, substituting a great domed church as the focus on his main axis. In order to increase the grandeur and mystery of his avenue approach from the river he proposed to terminate it by an elliptical piazza in front of the church. This great scheme was abandoned mainly on sentimental grounds, Queen Mary, the Foundress of the Marine Hospital, wishing to retain the wing built by her uncle, Charles II, and also the house built by Inigo Jones for the unhappy Queen Henrietta Maria. Wren, however, in spite of Kings and Queens, actually carried out the greater part of his first scheme. He succeeded in unifying a group of two gigantic elements of composition on either side of a main approach without a central dominant. To many architects this problem would appear one of insuperable difficulty. But Wren succeeded here mainly by a subtle appreciation of the value of elements of repetition in the dual colonnades and by the skilful grouping and proportion of his domes.

But St. Paul's is Wren's chief monument. The Fire, together with Divine Providence, put a final stop to the barbarous restoration of the old Cathedral; it remained only to complete its felicitous attentions with gunpowder and the battering ram. Wren advanced by rapid stages to the realization of his final design for the new Cathedral. This great interval in his life was one of intense concentration, analysis and criticism of his own powers. He prepared several designs, notably the first—his own favourite one—and the impossible Warrant design, "pitched upon" by the Commissioners "as

very artificial, proper and useful." Sir Reginald Blomfield suggests that the Commissioners, being wholly ignorant of architecture, probably tossed up as to which of the designs they should select. The Model design was a superb architectural conception. Its rejection, however, was a foregone conclusion, inasmuch as it would have provided London with a National Pantheon instead of a Cathedral. To Wren there was one feature absolutely essential to the design of a Cathedral and that was a Dome. Here he selected an element with an ancient and exalted pedigree, supremely realized in the vast Eastern Temple of the Divine Wisdom built by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, and more immediately in the West by St. Peter's and the Duomo, Florence. The first domed building in the West of any importance was the Pantheon at Rome (Fig. IV (B)). The plan consists of a great rotunda surrounded by a massive wall twenty feet in thickness. It is covered by a huge saucer dome with a span of over one hundred and forty feet, which in itself exercises a considerable thrust on the walls. Now the principle of construction involved here is in all essentials similar to that already described and illustrated in Fig. III (A). Just as in the little Romanesque Church the vault is an arch extended laterally, so in the Pantheon the dome may be regarded as an arch rotated on its axis, the vault and the dome in both cases exercising a uniformly distributed load upon the walls. Hadrian's builders succeeded in arriving at equilibrium by two means. Firstly, by the passive resistance inherent in their enormously thick walls, and secondly by making the rotunda wall circular and therefore concentric with the dome. Thus they achieved their "curved canopy of heaven." The apotheosis of the dome, however, was realized in Justinian's great early Christian Church of St. Sophia, Constantinople (and illustrated here). Here the Greek architect, as master designer and builder, appears once again, this time to carry out a grand experiment with the arch, instead of the column and lintel of the Parthenon. The Byzantine builders developed the dome into a live form, building it over a square substructure and supporting it, almost in anticipation of the Gothic principle of

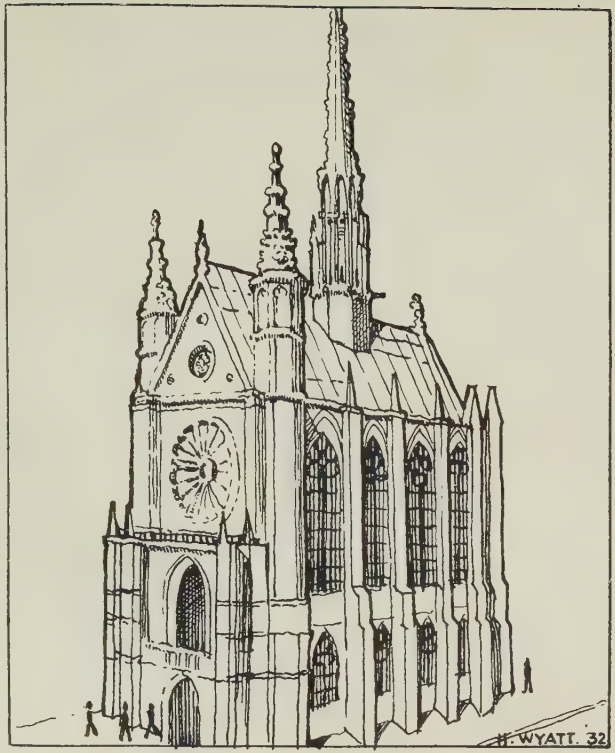


Fig. I.

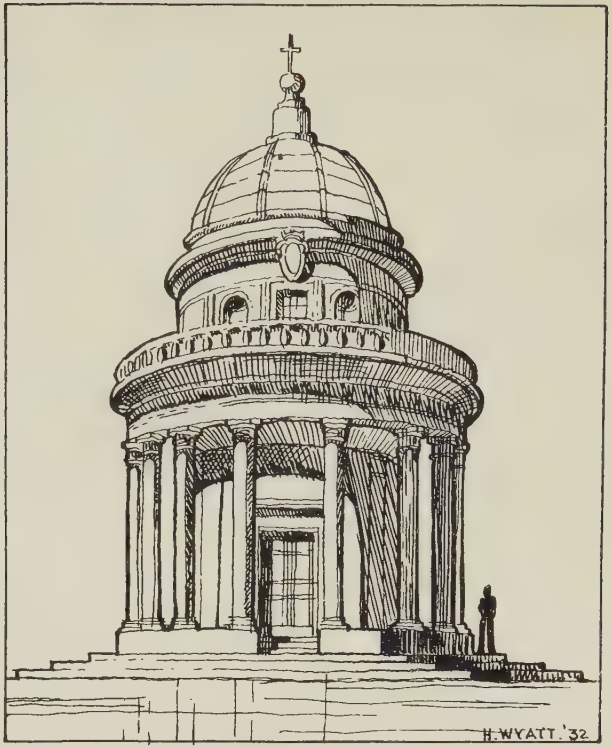


Fig. II.

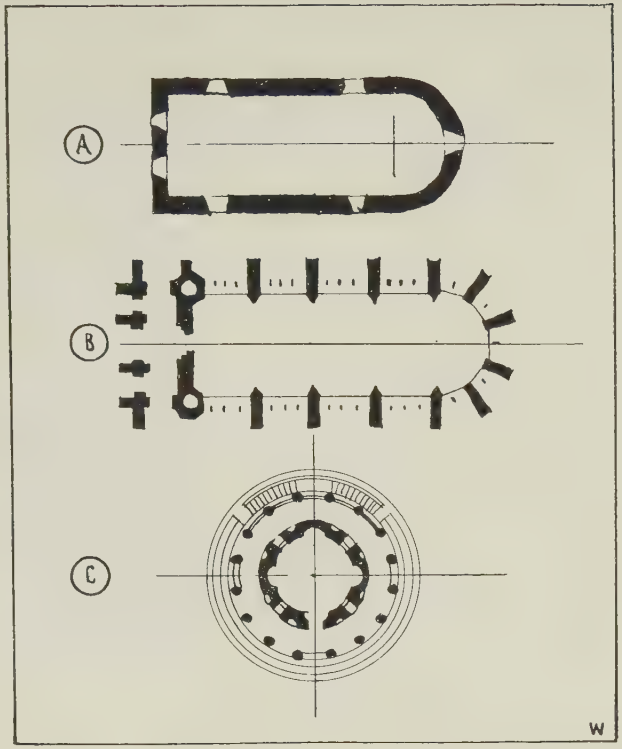


Fig. III.

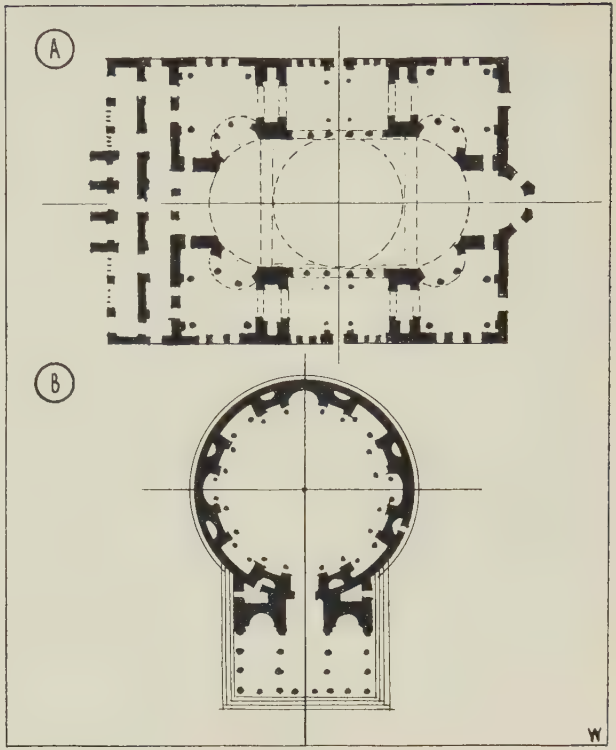
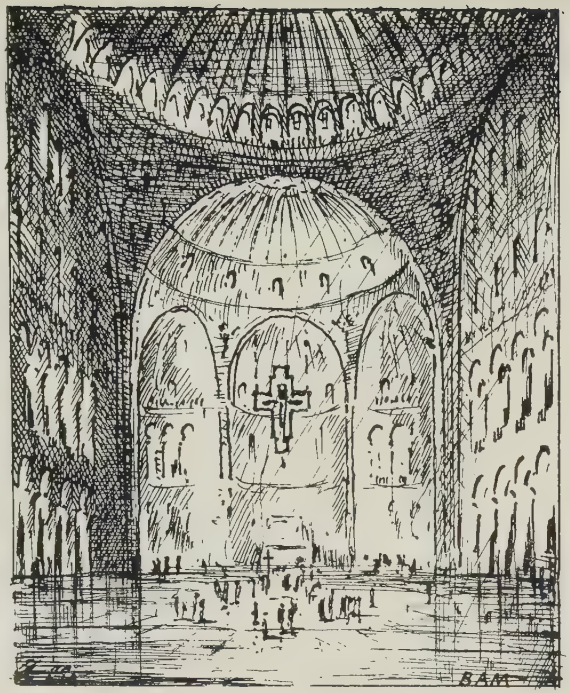


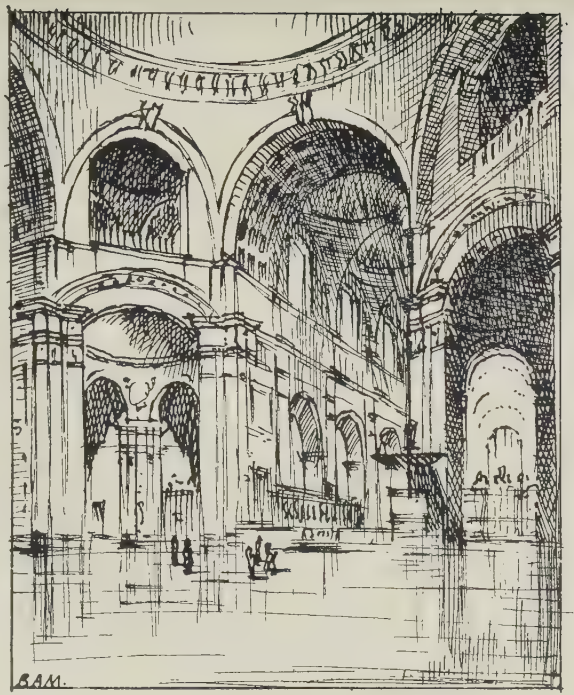
Fig. IV.



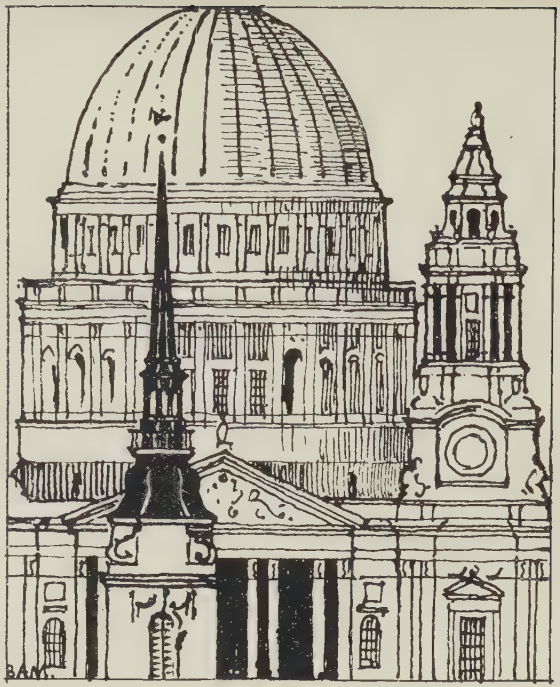
Interior

Exterior

ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE



Interior



Silhouette

ST. PAUL'S, LONDON

Sainte Chapelle, on isolated points of support (Fig. IV (A)). The transference from the square to the circle was affected by the ingenious use of curved corbels. The result was a Church which, by richness of beauty and decoration, combined with a sense of unlimited spaciousness, would have been unique in its intensity of emotional appeal. The unrivalled spaciousness of St. Sophia is the direct result of a lateral development of dome design, and a concentration upon internal effects. With the exception of St. Mark's, Venice, and a few of its minor reflections in Italy and the South of France, no other great domed church appeared in Europe until the fifteenth century. It was Brunelleschi's "brown bubble" of a dome to the Cathedral at Florence that became the prototype of the Renaissance architects engaged for over a hundred years on St. Peter's, Rome. Wren and the Renaissance architects concentrated on vertical development of the dome in direct contrast to the horizontal evolution of the Byzantine type at St. Sophia. The result was that an inevitable limitation to internal spaciousness was in a measure compensated for by an enhanced grandeur in exterior expression. It was here that Wren excelled as a master of silhouette. In spite of the defects of the interior, its tricks of construction and uncertain handling of the supporting piers to his dome, the general effect is most entrancing. But it is by the faultless proportion and the beautiful contour of the great dome that Wren secures his chief claim to immortality.

Bernard A. Miller.

Art. VII.—THE JESUITS AND EDUCATION.

I.

No history of education is complete without consideration of the Jesuits. For two centuries their position in European education was supreme, while in India, Japan, China, and South America it was very influential. For instance, in 1580 there were 2,000 pupils at their Roman College. In 1627 they had 13,195 pupils in the schools in the Paris province alone. In 1640 it is estimated that they had 150,000 pupils under their instruction, and this number had risen to 200,000 in 1773, when the Order was for a time dissolved. In fact at one time they almost established a monopoly of higher education in Europe. Outside Europe they had a very flourishing colony at Goa in Hindustan, where the students were drawn from a great variety of races. Japan had four colleges; China had at first one, and later many more in the interior, where the Fathers became the highest mandarins in the service of the Emperor, and built his observatory. Towards the close of the eighteenth century a large number of colleges were flourishing in Central and South America.

The colleges everywhere were filled not only with Roman Catholics but with Protestants as well so early as the sixteenth century. Bacon said[1]:—"*Consule scholas Jesuitarum: nihil enim quod in usum venit his melius.*" Descartes, himself their pupil, praised them. Chateaubriand, when the Order was suppressed, described the act as a disaster to education if not even to civilisation. Comenius, a Bohemian Protestant and bitter enemy of all Catholicism, adopted the linguistic method of the Jesuit "Janua Linguarum" in his book on the teaching

[1] See Quick, *Educational Reformers*, p. 33.

of Latin. Even after the dissolution of the Order Frederick the Great deliberately continued his support of them, and of Napoleon we are told by his latest biographer[1] "with lavish means, on the imperial scale, a university is founded, modelled after the Jesuit schools he detests." Such testimony is striking evidence that their educational system must have had many good features, and may be expected to repay study.

The call of Ignatius of Loyola was as sudden as it was unexpected, but there was nothing hasty in his methods. For years he thought and studied, and eventually put before the world the idea of a kind of Catholic Salvation Army. This was organised in provinces under one supreme General. Even the Pope was only the Patron. The Army's Crusade was not merely against the Turk, but against what it considered evil everywhere. In this Crusade it realised to its enormous credit the primary importance of education. It saw that its chief opponents would be found in the existing Universities. These not unnaturally were its first enemies, but its strength is shown by the way it successfully overcame all their attacks. This was perhaps primarily due to the thorough organization of its "Education Department," as we may call it, which shared in the perfection of organization which marked the whole Jesuit system. On this account alone there is little wonder that it achieved remarkable success. But surely the success which attended the Jesuit schools was the result of more than mere superiority of organization. At any rate their widely-spread schools, the vast numbers of their pupils, the distinguished names which stand upon their lists of scholars, must surely have made some contribution to educational science. Even if we decide that much of the Jesuit method was mistaken, the genuine student can always learn even by the mistakes of those who have gone before. It may at once be conceded that there is much for the student to learn from the methods of the Jesuits, both in their successes and in their failures.

In the first place we may note that they set out with a definite object. There was no haphazard drifting into the

[1] Emil Ludwig, *Napoleon*, p. 277.

profession of teaching. The Bull of Pope Paul III, in 1540, stated that the Order was formed, among other things, "especially for the purpose of instructing boys and ignorant persons in the Christian religion." To give instruction in the Christian religion, they did not necessarily give solely religious instruction; they realized that they could achieve their aim just as well or even better by giving a secular education in a religious atmosphere. In each college there were "Religious" and "Secular" students. The former eventually took the vows of the Order, and became full members. The latter were simply there for their general education, and sometimes were not even Roman Catholics.

When the Order had decided upon its aim, the Jesuits began to think about the best methods of attaining it. It is infinitely to their credit that they proceeded with care, enquiry, and deliberation. Three centuries before the English Minister of Education, the Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe, declared ex-cathedra that[1] there could be no such thing as a science of education, the Jesuits had realized that there was, and had set about learning it. In this they showed the same care and forethought which characterized all their early activities. The written rule about the system of education was the result of a double stage of development. The first is that in which Loyola left it—this gives the outline. The second is that in which Aquaviva completed it; this presents the finished product, the Ratio Studiorum. This was the result of the most varied experience, spread over fifty-nine years, and only completed after very careful consideration and investigation. Virtually the Order appointed a Commission to investigate. First six distinguished Jesuits from the various countries of Europe drew up the outline. Then twelve commissioners discussed this. Finally, in 1599, it was revised and approved by Aquaviva and the Fifth and Sixth General Assemblies, and by it all Jesuit schools were governed till 1832, when the curriculum was enlarged so as to include physical science and modern languages.

[1] Quick, p. 379.

In drawing up the Ratio Studiorum the authorities were helped considerably by the constitution of the Order. The Jesuit vow bound all members to strict obedience, not to any particular person, but to the Order itself. Thus it was a corporate society, and as such had the advantage of continuity. Each school and college could benefit by the experience and by the mistakes of every other college. They learnt by experience. Had they been a mere mob of isolated individuals, each going his own way and learning only by his own mistakes, development, if it came at all, would have been probably as slow as it was precarious. Even at the present time, with its abundance of journals, periodicals, and publications, it has been found useful to pool the experience of schools or groups of schools, and the Headmasters' Conference and the Headmasters' Association do valuable educational work in this way. As a matter of fact, this was Thring's object in founding the Headmasters' Conference. On the Agenda paper of the first meeting he printed[1]:—"The Headmasters have been asked to come together under no idea of a single meeting being any great good, but in the hope that year by year the seeing different schools, learning each other's difficulties, hearing the views of thoughtful, educated men, making acquaintance with one another, and enjoying a little intercourse, may tend in time to bring about, if not a common consent on many points, at least a kindly feeling and readiness to give help and counsel."

If the Jesuits had achieved nothing in spite of all their careful organization, they would have passed into oblivion. But they achieved so much that they have been the objects of attack and abuse from all quarters. Their success is the more remarkable when it is remembered that they were pioneers. Before them the Monastic Schools[2] and the Universities, with such Grammar Schools as existed, supplied what little popular

[1] G. R. Parkin, *Life and Letters of Edward Thring*, pp. 174-5.

[2] For Monastic Grammar Schools see Mr. Leach's article in *Encycl. Britt.*, xxiv, pp. 364ff. Gasquet's exaggerations on the one side are not less than Mr. Coulton's on the other; see Savine *Oxford Studies*, Vol. i, 232-3.

education was demanded. The first-named taught a little Latin to a few pupils, while in the sixteenth century the latter had outgrown their earlier promise. It is worth noting that Protestantism, though born of the Renaissance, had done little to satisfy the demand for increased knowledge which the growing spirit of free enquiry was urging. It had produced some scholars, but had done little for general education, and practically nothing for the education of the poorer classes. There were individual educationalists and individual schools of greater or less eminence, but in the sixteenth century there can hardly be said to have been any recognized system of education. The Jesuit idea was above all things a system — definite, organized, and extensive. It was not by any means perfect, but it was a step forward. By its experience and even by its mistakes later educationalists have been able to profit. Pioneers make it possible for those who come after to know that mistakes are mistakes.

We propose to enquire into some of the practical methods of the Jesuit teachers, noting especially points in which they were original in their ideas. We shall be less critical than appreciative, more anxious to learn than desirous to condemn, and in this respect at any rate we shall not be following a beaten track. As a rule writers who deal with the Jesuits can see little but evil in them and all their works. Perhaps if we can manage to consider them sympathetically we may be able to learn from them some useful lessons.

II.

We have already noticed that they perceived fully the value of education. They also recognized the need for training their teachers. This was in the sixteenth century.[1] Yet at the beginning of the nineteenth century this principle had been forgotten in England, where the first Training College was only founded in 1840, and then for teachers in Elementary

[1] Mulcaster in England (1530-1611) suggested a Training College for Teachers.

Schools only.[1] The recognition of the need of training for teachers in higher schools has been of still later growth. Yet in 1586 it was ordained that[2]:—"It would be most profitable for the schools, if those who are about to be Praeceptors were privately taken in hand by someone of great experience; and, for two months or more, were practiced by him in the method of reading, teaching, correcting, writing, and managing a class. If teachers have not learnt these things beforehand, they are forced to learn them afterwards at the expense of their scholars; and they will acquire proficiency only when they have already lost in reputation; and perchance they will never unlearn a bad habit." However much teachers were wanted, a two years' course of preparation was considered indispensable.[3]

The Jesuits also realized that education should be made attractive to the learners; there must be sympathy between the master and his pupils. Teachers were to lead, not drive their pupils, and to make their learning not merely endurable but even acceptable. "When pupils love the master," says Sacchini, "they will soon love his teaching. Let him, therefore, show an interest in everything that concerns them and not merely in their studies." In recent times the same principle is expressed in the *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers,* issued by the English Board of Education. "Ultimately,"[4] it says, "what every teacher teaches is himself. Whatever method he may adopt, there is no doubt that his own character will be the most potent influence in determining the ideals of his pupils."

While making education more attractive, the Jesuit teacher was not to neglect the individual for the sake of the class.

[1] In 1815 the National Society (founded 1811) reported that it had 10 masters at the service of those who desired to improve their methods, and had given training to 52 teachers at their headquarters in Baldwin's Gardens.

[2] Hughes, *Loyola* (Great Educators Series), p. 160.

[3] In each Province the Jesuits had a Training College called "Juvenete," and in their schools the Prefect of Studies visited every teacher once a fortnight and heard him teach.

[4] *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers,* p. 21.

It was laid down that the teacher[1] "is to disregard no-one, to foster the studies of the poor equally with the rich, and the dull equally with the clever." The importance of studying the character of each pupil was emphasized. However dull or uninteresting a boy appeared to be, he was to receive the same attention as his more interesting neighbours. The *Handbook of Suggestions* strikes the same note.[2] "The characteristic note of recent educational theory and practice has been the insistence on the importance of the individual as distinct from the class." It is satisfactory that such a principle is impressed by authority on teachers in elementary schools: when our Public Schools[3] have fallen into line with the recognition of the value of training for their masters we shall not have such a remark as was recently made by a master in a Public School of high standing and wide reputation—that he did not think it possible or even necessary to bring himself down to the intellectual level of the boys at the bottom of his form.

In these days of free education one would think it would be a matter of credit to the Jesuits that they were certainly pioneers in this movement. They would never accept the principle of fees.[4] They resolutely acted in accordance with the maxim, "freely have ye received, freely give."[5] In 1603 a Jesuit College was being founded at Dijon. The endowment was insufficient, so the magistrates suggested that a fee should be required from the students. Father Coton, the King's Confessor, remonstrated in the name of the Order; and Henry IV himself wrote to the Parliament at Bourgogne to ask that a different arrangement should be made. This was accordingly done, and thus the strict principle of the Order

[1] Hughes, pp. 226 and 241.

[2] *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers*, p. 53.

[3] Note, however, Thring's reputation for his skill in dealing with "backward boys," which at one time threatened to be a danger to the efficiency of Uppingham.

[4] Quick, p. 39.

[5] Hughes, p. 66.

was maintained. Strange as it may seem in the light of modern demands, the Jesuits have been widely attacked for this free education; critics have been quite unable to get the bogey of ulterior motive out of their heads, and many have attributed their success solely to the fact that they charged nothing for their teaching. Not all have been so honest as Boehmer, who roundly denounced the idea of free education as fundamentally wrong, yet praised the Jesuits as the most successful teachers of his day, and attributed their success to their intrinsic merits.

The thoroughness of their methods appears in many ways. Great care was to be taken in the preparation of lessons by the teachers. The *Ratio Studiorum* says[1]: "It will be a great gain if the master does not speak in a hurry and without forethought, but is ready with what he has thought out and written out in his own room." And: "Before all things let everyone be thoroughly skilled in what he is going to teach; for then he teaches well, he teaches easily, he teaches readily: well, because he makes no mistakes; easily, because he has no need to exert himself; readily, because, like wealthy men, he cares not how he gives. Let him be very distrustful of his memory; let him renew his remembrance and rub it up by repeated reading before he teaches anything, though he may have often taught it before. Something will now and then occur to him which he may add, or put more neatly." The same careful training is advocated in modern Schoolmasters' Training Colleges, and is of fundamental importance. Although most of their teaching was done orally, the Jesuits published many good text books, some of which have survived as such till the present day.[2]

As a detail not without interest we may notice that their Decurions were forerunners of Doctor Bell's Monitors and Pupil Teachers, and were originally started by the same need, viz. lack of experienced teachers. But Doctor Bell definitely styled his plan "An experiment in Education," and as such it did good service in the early days of popular education in

[1] Quick, p. 41 (note.)
[2] Hughes, p. 131.

England. At Madras he had started a school for the orphan children of the European soldiers of the East India Company, and a scarcity of teachers led him to set elder scholars to superintend the studies of those less advanced. Returning to England in 1796 he found a similar scarcity, and repeated the "Experiment" on a larger scale. Neither he nor anyone else appears to have known that the novelty in England was an antique elsewhere. In the Jesuit schools at the beginning of each day's work the master corrected the previous day's exercises while the Decurions heard the lesson which had then been learnt by heart.

The Jesuits also realized that the value of examination results could be overestimated. At the end of every year there was a formal examination for all the pupils, but the results were joined with the records of the work done in the past year. In this manner they overcame a difficulty which is continually facing schoolmasters to-day; a difficulty which is exaggerated when the examinations are external. Luckily the difficulty is realized, and Professor Findlay[1] says: "A certificate, to be of value, should certify not only to the attainments of a scholar at one critical moment, but it should testify that he has lived the school life, and should by its comprehensive character take account of the entire school record. When a German inspector, acting as school examiner, awards a Leaving Certificate, he is not a mere marking machine, but a free intelligence, coming into personal contact with both the candidates and their instructors; his long experience gives him an adequate acquaintance with the public standard, but he supplements his own judgement by the opinion of the staff of the school, who are trusted by public opinion in Germany with a confidence which at present is withheld in Great Britain.[2]

[1] Findlay, *The School*, p. 127. For admission to Harvard—and presumably to other U.S. Universities—a complete record is required of student's work at the school from which he goes.

[2] *e.g.*, in the Board of Education's Report on *The Education of the Adolescent*, *cf.*, p. 154, and compare paragraphs 150 and 151.

Rewards for work have always furnished another problem for the schoolmaster. The general custom now is for the boy at the top of the form or set to receive the prize. In the Jesuit system competition only rested between a few boys. The Jesuit system was a better one, although not without its faults. The class was divided into a number of small groups of approximately equal size, and a prize was offered for each group. In this way it was hoped that all would have an equal chance and that none would lose interest or be deprived of the stimulus offered by the prize.

In matters of discipline the Jesuits showed the same common-sense that characterized most of their educational work. Punishments were to be as light as possible and the master was to shut his eyes to offences whenever he thought he might do so with safety. Only very grave offences were to be visited by corporal punishment, and it was to be performed by a "Corrector" who was not a member of the Order.[1] As has been graphically said, "the Jesuits abolished the cane in their schools." This does not seem a particularly epoch-making reform in these democratic days when we have almost reached the stage when only the son of a Duke may be caned at school. But when we recall the state of things which existed when the Jesuit schools began, we are able to appreciate the greatness of their reform. For long the schoolmaster's motto had been "*tot verba, tot verbera.*" It was exceptional when such a direction was found as that of William of Wykeham, in his statutes for Winchester,[2] that the master "in no way exceed moderation in his chastisements." Dr. Rashdall says that "the sixteenth century was the flogging age par excellence at the English Universities,"[3] and he attributes this to the Puritanical spirit. Oliver Cromwell's schoolmaster, Dr. Thomas Beard, a prominent Puritan preacher, figured on the frontispiece of a Latin Comedy[4]

[1] Quick, p. 48.

[2] Leach, *A History of Winchester College,* p. 151.

[3] *Ibid,* p. 179.

[4] Green, *A Short History,* illus. edition, Vol. iii, p. 1057.

printed in 1631, and is depicted with a birch in his hand as the appropriate and natural symbol of his academic office. The seal of Louth Grammar School, in 1552, was a representation of a boy in the act of being birched across the master's knee: the encouraging motto is "*qui parcit virgam odit filium.*" So when the Jesuits decided that corporal punishment was to be the exceptional punishment, it meant a real revolution as regards school discipline.

One of the maxims of the Jesuit system was: "*Repetitio mater studiorum.*" At the beginning of every lesson, work previously learnt was heard first; and then at the end there was a recapitulation of the new work of the lesson. Besides this, one day each week was devoted entirely to repetition. It is often said that too much repetition kills the desire for knowledge; and Montaigne asserted that: "Savoir par cœur n'est pas savoir." But it must be admitted that there is nothing like it for laying a solid foundation of elementary facts in the lower forms. The *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* is interesting on this point. It says[1]: "Memorising, except of verse, may be out of fashion, but it is obvious that certain pieces of information which are in constant demand may advantageously be committed to memory at a fairly early stage." The Jesuits exaggerated when they said: "*Repetitio mater Studiorum,*" but there is much truth in the assertion of the Ratio Studiorum that[2] "what has often been repeated sinks deeply into the mind."

The "Form Master" was formerly the favoured plan in most schools; one teacher took a form in most subjects, and the pupils, when they moved up to a higher form, moved up also to a different form master. "Specialists" are now more in favour, a teacher teaching little beyond his own subject. The Jesuit plan differed from both these. Certain subjects were taught by special teachers, but as a rule the principle of the Form Master was adopted, only with a vital difference. The master passed up the school with his pupils. The idea

[1] *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers*, p. 55.
[2] Hughes, *Loyola*, p. 240.

was that he knew each boy's individual and peculiar characteristics, and could therefore give individual attention to all. This was all to the good. The drawback, of course, was that, like his pupils, he was always more or less a novice in the subject being taught. The founders of the system hoped to evade this difficulty by insisting upon the very careful preparation of lessons already mentioned.

Modern educational theory is undecided upon this point, and once more we look to the *Handbook of Suggestions* as our authority. It says[1]: "In some schools the class teachers pass up for some years with substantially the same set of children. While there is something to be said for and against this practice, it is in any case undesirable to keep a teacher for many years confined within the narrow limits of one year's work, and most important that each teacher should be acquainted not only with the scheme of work for the whole school, but with the aims and ideals towards which the head teacher is working."

III.

So far we have been concerned with noticing some of the main points in Jesuit theory and practice. What judgement is to be passed on them? What warnings do they give? Especially, the sincere student will ask, what can be learnt from them? We shall not be so stupid as to be scared by the cry of "Popery." It is a hardy annual which can be made to flourish even in our own days, and to bear fruit in strange places, even in the House of Commons. But we propose to disregard it. Only the ostrich deliberately buries his head in the sand—the wise man will prefer to be wide awake and to keep an eye open to learn wherever he can.

It is easy to say that the Jesuits not merely neglected but suppressed originality and independence of mind, love of truth for its own sake, the power of reflecting, and of forming personal judgements. That is undoubtedly a well-justified criticism. But when we are told their only aim was to produce

[1] *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers*, p. 30.

a definite type of religious character, and for this are severely criticized, we are less ready to agree with the critics. We suspect the chief reason for this censure is less that they had a definite aim than that their definite aim was one with which their critics have no sympathy. To have a definite object in education is not always considered blameworthy; is it sufficient to say that "education is an end in itself"? Everything depends on the nature of the end in view.

The Jesuit education was planned to fit the pupils to do their duty[1] in that religious state to which it had pleased God to call them—to make them "good Catholics." This is really in its essence a typically modern idea. To say this was their aim is only saying they were of the same opinion as many moderns to-day. With many there is a persistent outcry for the teaching of "useful subjects" in our schools, a demand for a "practical education." That is precisely what the Jesuits had in view. It expresses their object admirably. Only whereas the modern mind seldom gets beyond the counter or the Stock Exchange, the Jesuit had in view what he, at any rate, looked upon as the Kingdom of Heaven. With this difference the Jesuit education was thoroughly "practical": the subjects they taught were eminently useful; only their object was not the greater glory of the banking account of their pupils, but the greater glory of God.[2]

Such an outlook ought not to have been narrow, but narrow it was in practice. Yet in spite of its narrowness, it

[1] The (Jesuit) repression of individuality is not the object of the Church Catechism, of which these words are an echo, for in the Catechism the sense is vitally different from that in the text, viz., "to do my duty in that state of life unto which it *shall please* God to call me."

[2] The writer must not be understood to approve of the narrow view of education which is represented by much of the current talk about "useful subjects." See also the very careful proposals in regard to "Bias" or "Vocational Training" in Senior Class and Mod. Schools in the Board of Education's Report on *The Education of the Adolescent*, pp. 119-121, etc.

must be admitted that the Jesuits made a real contribution to progress. But, while bearing in mind their contribution, we must not forget the rigidity of their system, which undoubtedly hindered its own development. The system was so good that it seemed impossible to improve it. That is always the snare for enthusiasts.

At the same time we must not forget that the alleged rigidity was by no means absolute. The Order, in fact, produced recognized specialists in many branches of knowledge, such as Astronomy, Archæology, Mathematics, Philology, Oriental Inscriptions, the Classics, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Literature in general, and, of course, Theology and the History of Religion. Indeed, in 1869—76 a list of works by Jesuit authors was published which contained the names of over 11,000 writers.[1] Among the subjects treated are Agriculture, Military Science, Naval Science, and many other unexpected categories. A Jesuit Father's *Treatise on Naval Evolutions* (1697) was a Text Book in the French Navy, and so late as 1810 an English Admiral avowed he had gained his first naval instruction from it, adding "if events are taken for results, there is not a better book in the world."[2] It was a Jesuit mathematician who directed the Reformation of the Calendar by Gregory XIII.

In spite of a Papal Edict dissolving the Order in 1773 it has continued to the present day. The Ratio Studiorum was brought up to date in 1832 so as to include physical science and modern languages. In spite of the conservative note of this Code of Laws the Jesuit schools that exist to-day appear to be remarkably efficient and "up-to-date." Stonyhurst, for instance, has a well-equipped O.T.C., and has supplied many distinguished names in all branches of the public service. But it is only with what may be called the Jesuit schools of the past that we are concerned, and their more modern standard is beyond the limits of this study.

[1] Hughes, p. 135.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 171.

Their apparent idolatry of Latin may be largely justified when we remember that Latin was for many years the Lingua Franca of Scholarship throughout the world. Even in 1688 Newton's great book on Astronomy was written in Latin. Still, it was carrying the principle to an impossible extreme when the Jesuits ordered that reading and writing in the mother tongue might not be taught without special leave from the Provincial. Latin was as much as possible to supersede all other languages. Even in ordinary conversation nothing else might be used by the pupils in the higher forms on any day but a holiday.

We have pointed out that the intrinsic weakness of the Jesuit idea of education was its narrowness of outlook. As time went on this became more pronounced. More and more the Jesuit educators and pupils tended to "forswear the full stream of the world and live in a nook merely monastic." They stood isolated from the broadening stream of educational development. This was fatal. It could not but be to their disadvantage from an educational point of view. Deprived of any standard except their own, each school was thrown on to its own resources: it had nothing by which to measure its true attainments. Examinations might determine the relative merits of its own pupils, but however searching they might be, could give but little clue to actual proficiency. The evil results affected also the teachers. Teaching power was bound, by a natural law, to deteriorate "for each generation descended from the same mental ancestry unmixed with fresh brain power." The result was, inevitably, complacency as to attainments, with no consciousness of their feebleness and inefficiency if compared with the current standard.

The greatest condemnation of the Jesuit system of education is that as a matter of History the countries where they have had the freest hand were found to be the most backward in general education. In Europe—Spain and Italy, further afield—the Spanish Colonies of South and Central America. In spite of the historical fact, it is not fair to put all the blame on the Jesuits. The character of the people inhabiting these

lands where the Jesuits had their strongholds, enervated by wealth and climate, must also be taken into account. Only in recent years has Italy made an effort to pull herself together; and more recently still, Spain seems to be beginning to make that effort. South America, enabled by its unlimited ability to grow wheat and produce vast herds of cattle, has grown wealthy and modern; but in spite of the Jesuits' power in the American colonies, it is doubtful if their system of education ever touched more than the pure-blooded Spanish élite; and this was not a permanent fixture in the Colonies. The resident population, mostly half-castes, was largely uneducated, and it was the descendants of these who formed the mass of the population when the country was judged to be backward in education. It would seem more just to condemn the Jesuits for failing to embrace every class in their educational system.

Again, we have pointed out that all their schools were of one type. While this was in many ways a source of strength in that it allowed exchange of experience and gave all the force which a united effort always possesses, it none the less contained within itself the sure seeds of weakness. It failed in the power of adaptability to environment which is essential to a living organism. The type was in many ways an admirable one, but what is good for one is not necessarily good for another; and what is fashionable one day is antiquated the next. Experience seems to have proved in the case of the Jesuits that the advantage resulting from uniformity is dearly bought. Uniformity has been the ideal not of the Jesuits only; every enthusiast, in whatever field, is liable to be carried away by his enthusiasm, and to think that no other ideal than his own has any merit. That has always been the peculiar danger of educational enthusiasts, even when they have been single-minded. We have experienced in England the dangerous attempt to force all schools into one pattern more than once. Some would say we have not wholly escaped it even yet, although the danger is less marked than it was before the Great War. It has now been recognized that there must be

different types of schools; the English system will have reached another stage in its climb towards perfection when there is allowed in each school a sufficient margin of freedom for the expression of the teacher's personality. May it be claimed that a study of the Jesuit system of education will strengthen the Englishman's natural preference for liberty in regard to schools and education as in other fields?

F. D. Hibbert.

THE CHURCHES OF EUROPE:

THE PRESENT STATE OF GERMAN PROTESTANTISM.

THOUGHT on the Continent is saturated with the concept that without law no unity of thought or action is possible. Freedom is a state which is explicitly defined by law and beyond the limits of such "toleration" individual action partakes of the nature of rebellion. Law is essentially good. To the English habit of mind the exact contrary is the theory of social organisation. Law is a necessary evil for the restraint of those who cannot be trusted to "play the game" fairly. We interpret "Peace on earth among men of goodwill" as stressing a habit of mind—goodwill. The rest of Europe puts the enforcement of peace in the forefront. *Si vis pacem para bellum* is an axiom of statecraft of far wider application than in its primary military significance. The well-ordered State is one which directs, sanctifies and governs the very hearts of its people. Its oversight is all-embracing and its authority omnipotent. It is, as it were, the one expression of Divine Providence in the affairs of men.

This theory finds expression, relative to ecclesiastical affairs, in the doctrine that the Prince is *Summus Episcopus*. He may not himself be able to function spiritually in every particular —or indeed in any. But the responsibility for all ministrations, spiritual as well as secular, attaches to his office. Until the Reformation the position of a Prince in the Holy Roman Empire was simple. He accepted the responsibility for the souls as well as for the bodies of his subjects, committing its discharge on the spiritual side to the bishop or bishops of his dominions and on the secular side to the magistrates, barons, etc. This is the principle on which to this day the relations between Church and State are ordered in the German-speaking provinces to which the Empire was reduced by the end of the 16th century and the bulk of which form the modern German Reich. No better illustration can be given of the application of this principle than the famous portrait of Frederick Prince of Wales (son of George II) as Bishop of Osnaburgh. Here a boy of twelve is painted in full

episcopal vesture, for he actually was Catholic Bishop of Osnaburgh, although of the Reformed Religion. But for all spiritual ministrations he "functioned" through a suffragan or coadjutor selected by the ecclesiastical authority and spiritually independent of him except in name.

The Protestant succession in the Prince-bishopric of Osnaburgh, of course, was a by-product of the Treaty of Westphalia, which established after the Thirty Years War reciprocal toleration for both religions in Germany. The *Summus Episcopus* was bound to provide Catholic ministers for his Catholic subjects and Protestant ministers for the Protestants. Neither "Church" was established in our sense of the word, but both were regarded as what we should call sections of one "national" Church. In a Protestant State the Catholic minority were linked with the rest of the Papal obedience by the fact that their hierarchy received jurisdiction from Rome. The Protestant majority had no such safeguard for their spiritual independence and most, if not all, of their Churches have become more like theological departments of State than anything. All creeds alike pay a tax for the upkeep of religion, and the proceeds of this tax are shared in proportion to the number of adherents of each recognised "denomination." But whereas the Catholic share is administered by Catholics in association as free from State interference as any other corporation, commercial or charitable, the Protestant Churches are severely controlled. Even under a Republican regime their governing bodies consist mainly of nominated "representatives."

The effect of this close connection between Church and State in a Protestant country like Prussia has been, if an outsider can venture any opinion on the matter, slowly to stifle Christianity as a living Gospel. What we call "public school religion" (in the satirical sense) reigns triumphant. A boy finishes his school course by obtaining a Leaving Certificate. On this, of course, are marked the subjects in which he has reached the required standards. Appended, in the case of Protestants, is a certificate that he has been properly prepared and confirmed by a recognised pastor. Without this, it is practically impossible for a lad to get a job at all, for his moral character will be considered doubtful even by those who themselves have long ceased to pay any attention to religion. Here is a superlative example of action by the beneficient State. It does not actually teach religion, but provides competent instructors to discharge what is regarded as a national duty, thus by the force of public opinion as well as by actual administrative pressure, compelling everyone to accept their training and authority.

The result is disastrous in the extreme. Religion being necessary as a qualifying subject for the world's work, it takes rank among the other departments of study—Languages, Mathematics, History, etc. If a man does not want knowledge of Languages or Mathematics in his job, the fact that he has studied them at school does not influence him to continue their study. He simply drops them. So with Religion. If he proposes to "specialise" (as a pfarrer or professor) in Religion, he will of course go to Church and so on. If not—his only concern with the matter is to see that his children are grounded (at school) in this qualifying subject as well as in the others. The "Legend of Jesus" is important only for instructing the young in the necessary elements of social morality, just as the *Volsungasaga* is in relation to patriotism. It is admittedly a clumsy instrument for scholastic purposes, but it has behind it the sanction of custom and general convenience. Until something better can be devised, religion must remain as a compulsory subject for boys and girls. Men and women cannot, naturally, be expected to be bound by its out-of-date convention. And they are not. Men and women undergraduates at the University of Berlin *paaren* freely and openly—not without exception but in such numbers as to make these liaisons recognised as the normal practice. The Town-churches are empty to such a degree that our English parish churches seem crowded. Forty or fifty thousand is by no means an unusual population for a Berlin parish and the congregations rarely exceed one or two hundred. Few of either sex ever receive the Holy Communion at any period of their lives, except possibly after their Confirmation. The clergy are very largely recruited from the homes of the *pfarrers* (parsons) where alone genuine piety seems to survive.

In the country districts things are a little better, for the personal influence of the *pfarrer*'s example and that of his family is still an effective force. But for Protestant Germany, especially among the educated and artisan classes, there are two distinct religions—the "Legend of Jesus" in which the children are instructed, and a vague semi-theistic mass-consciousness. The latter shades into that gospel of human progress with one form of which we are familiar in Bolshevik Russia. Marxism is, indeed, the direct and logical outcome of the philosophy of life born of the cultural identification of the Kingdoms of God and Mammon. Not individual man but Man in the aggregate (or rather in the State) is made in the Image and likeness of God.

The extraordinary identification of Religion and "Culture" —and pre-eminently German culture, be it noted—was never better exemplified than in that Appeal to the Christian World which the German Evangelical Clergy put forth in 1914. The most

encouraging sign of hope for a religious revival in their forms of Protestantism lies in the fact that the signatories were ashamed of their utterance almost before the ink was dry. Many repudiated it before the War was over and all alike have tried to condone their action as caused by government pressure. Yet the fact remains. Owing to its intimate association with the educational system and the fact that the primary object of that system is to train citizens rather than men, religion in Protestant Germany has reached a state in which the disciples of the Gospel of Love can easily be stirred to join enthusiastically in a Hymn of Hate. Even in the sparsely attended Berlin Churches the sermons of the pastors are mainly given up to the discussion of political questions. The failure of the parliamentary system through the multiplication of parties is a direct result of this. All is in a state of flux.

Superficially then the outlook before German Protestantism seems, to an English observer, to be very gloomy. Yet beneath the surface, there are signs of better things of which the *Hoch-Kirche* movement is the expression.

Among the reactions from the War-Spirit since 1918, not the least interesting or important is that which is known as the "High Church Movement" in Protestant Germany. All through the years of the War the professors and pastors had increasingly repudiated that amazing identification of the German Kultur and Christianity which they put forth in their "appeal" at the outbreak of hostilities. It so happened that the great retreat from France coincided with the fourth centenary of Luther's revolt from Rome. Pastor Hansen, a well known minister in northern Prussia, marked the occasion by publishing a notable thesis in which he accused the Evangelical Churches of having departed from Luther's teaching concerning the Sacramental Church Catholic, its Ministry, Liturgy and so forth. He called for a "Back to Luther" movement and on October 9th, 1918, the *Hoch Kirche Verein* (High Church Union) was founded, with Hansen as its first president, to restore the Reformation ideals among those who looked to Luther for their inspiration.

At first the Movement obtained very considerable support, especially (strangely enough) among what may be called the "Broad Church party" in the German Protestant Churches, who saw in it a corrective against the narrow fundamentalism of the seminary-trained *pfarrer* (parson). But its real strength lay not in the great town parishes but among the country clergy, who were (and are) appalled at the lack of spiritual religion generally. (Exactly the same realisation of the distance to which the materialistic Protestantism of Germany has drifted from the

Gospel of Jesus gave rise to the parallel, and closely allied, movement in the South associated with the teaching of Karl Barth).

The line followed by Hansen and the founders of the *Hoch Kirche Verein* was consciously in imitation of the English "High Church Movement" of the 19th century. The Confession of Augsburg, they claimed, was patient of a Catholic interpretation. The existing practice was corrupt and due to inclusion in one Church-union of the two types of German Reformation-churches —Lutheran and Calvinist. The Lutheran conception of the Church and her Sacraments was Catholic and must be restored by the same peaceful penetration as in England, True, episcopacy had been abandoned in Luther's time, but that was simply because the bishops had refused to recognise his movement for reform. As the Church of Sweden clearly showed, there was nothing incompatible with the Lutheran system in episcopacy and it must be restored. The present generation had to prepare the way by returning to that Catholic practice which had retained its place in the services even more than had been the case in the Church of England. The Crucifix had never lost its place on the Lutheran altar—the ministers made the Sign of the Cross in blessing—use of the Eucharistic vestments had never been abandoned—and so on. Moreover, there was an unbroken sequence of Catholic teaching. The great mathematician and philosopher Leibnitz had advocated the adoption of the English Prayer Book and the restoration of episcopacy through the English line of succession, while even Goethe himself had deplored the decay of the sacramental life in the reformed Churches.

The *Hoch Kirche* Movement started, therefore, under very favourable conditions with friends all round. English Catholics, like the late Dean Burn of Salisbury, encouraged its leaders to develop, and five years ago there are said to have been nearly three quarters of a million open adherents. In 1927 Superintendent Mehl of Brandenburg succeeded Hansen as president of the Union. The movement, however, suffered from a defect which would not be readily recognisable as such in England. It was a practical rather than an academic movement, having its origin in pastoral needs not in intellectual theory. To the German, apparently, no such movement can command the respect it deserves unless its leader is a Herr Professor. In 1929, therefore, Mehl gave way to one of the outstanding figures in German theology to-day, Professor Friedrich Heiler of Marburg.

Friedrich Heiler is a native of Munich where he was born in 1892—a Catholic by baptism and education. At the University he specialised in the history of religions and in 1918 was appointed a lecturer in philosophy. As one of the group responsible under

Professor von Martin for *Una Sancta*—a quarterly symposium of Catholic and Protestants, now killed by papal prohibition —he was invited by Archbishop Söderblom of Upsala to lecture in Sweden. Here he found the reformed Teutonic Catholic Church of which he dreamed and was received into it by Söderblom. Returning to Germany he was appointed Professor of Theology in the University of Marburg. (Protestant seminary Professors in Germany are nearly always laymen). He is generally regarded as a master-theologian, his book *Das Gebet,* on the psychology of prayer, being the greatest study of the subject.

From the time of Heiler's accession to the movement two parties are distinctly observable in it—those who aim primarily at restoring Catholic practice in Germany and those who are working on what may be called ecumenical lines, that is to say who desire to obtain recognition for the *Hoch Kirche Verein* by the non-Roman Episcopal Churches. From both points of view the lack of bishops in the German Churches is an almost unsurmountable obstacle. On his election to the presidency of the movement, therefore, Heiler sought to obtain apostolic consecration first from the Old Catholics, and afterwards (if rumour is to be trusted) from a Church of the Anglican Communion. He was refused on the ground that the consecration of an *episcopus vagans* was irregular. A bishop must have a "Church," that is to say he must have membership in, and be responsible to, an Apostolic College. Even a missionary bishop is responsible for his work in founding a Church to those who commissioned him for that work. A bishop in a non-episcopal Church is an obvious anomaly—not necessarily wrong but without Catholic precedent. The Lutheran Church has such precedent, not only in Sweden, but in Germany itself—the modern Moravians owing their claim to succession to consecration by the East Prussian prelates among whom at the beginning of the 18th century the old Hussite episcopal orders were still transmitted.

At the end of 1930 Heiler took the course, which his English sympathisers cannot but regret, of being consecrated bishop by the bishops of the "Gallican Church." These belong to the Villatte line, tracing back to a schismatic Jacobite bishop at the end of the last century—the same line as that from which Dr. Orchard, late of the King's Weigh-house Chapel, claims to have received the priesthood. Curiously enough these orders are recognised as "valid" by the Roman Catholics, though the same point about *episcopi vagantes* is taken. The orders are valid but not exerciseable, because their recipient has no Church in which to minister.

The whole attitude of the German Church authorities changed when Heiler's consecration became known. Here was a man, ranking as a layman in their Church, who claimed to be a bishop and was re-ordaining their pastors. The position was manifestly impossible from a constitutional point of view, and it says something for the general appeal of the *Hoch Kirche* point of view that so far nothing has been done openly to remove the "offenders." Something more than discouragement is meted out to them, and very few of the pastors dare openly to proclaim their adherence to the Union. The parish councils, also, have put a stop to the *Hoch Kirche* services in their church buildings. But the general attitude is regret that a hopeful movement has taken a wrong turn rather than any desire to suppress it. The position of spiritual religion in Germany is too desperate for precipitate action to commend itself to anyone.

No one can attend the *Hoch Kirche Abendmahl*[1] (Lord's Supper) without being impressed with the reality and devotion both of the service and of the communicants. To the English observer a Catholic Mass after sunset seems strange. But the communicants are required to observe the six-hours fast, and it is never safe to judge one nation by the practices of another. The Liturgy is Luther's revision of the 16th century Mass with the addition of an *epiklesis* and one or two other devotions from ancient Eastern rites. The singing, which is entirely congregational, is a revelation to those brought up under the restraint of the imitations of cathedral singing by parish church choirs.

As might be expected the *Hoch Kirke* party are pre-eminently imbued with that œcumenical ideal to the spread of which the great Archbishop Söderblom gave so much time and care. It seems to be clear that nothing else can restore "other worldliness" to the German Protestant. It seems equally clear that the sacramental system of Luther will die unless it is freed from the intellectual rigidity of Calvinism. All the world over Calvinism has had its day and is passing. "Protestantism has too little Sacrament" Goethe wrote in the days when, for political reasons, the two non-Roman confessions were fused into a single Church in the Protestant States. It is still more true now that these "national" bodies are federated (loosely but effectively) into a single Imperial Union of Churches. Apart from the *Hoch Kirche*

[1] Evening Communion is the norm of the German Protestant Use, though in town churches Mass is also said on Sundays at 8 a.m. This duplication, it is said, is for the sake of the aged and infirm who cannot fast for the evening-meal as required on the original Reformation principle. The reason thus given is a grimly satirical comment on Anglican differences about the hour of Communion.

people the only signs of life are among those Broad Churchmen who are applying the lessons of the English parochial revival. Here and there are parishes in which the pastors are no longer content with preaching to empty benches. They run clubs, Mothers' meetings, scout-troops, Sunday Schools and the like on the lines to which we have long been accustomed as the regular work of a parish priest. It is significant that these are Episcopalians to a man. Since the War, also, the constitution of more than one of the Protestant Churches (each State has its own) has been varied to give episcopal power of oversight to the General Superintendent, though the majorities are opposed to reviving the title of Bishop for these officials. Rightly they refuse to take the shadow of a name unless and until they are convinced of the necessity of the Order. But that the time will come and come soon the present writer is personally confident. There is no salvation for German Protestantism except in the restoration of the German Episcopate. The best elements in the German Churches realise this. There is good historical precedent not only in the fact that the Apostle of Germany was the Devonshire missionary Boniface, but in the fact that at the beginning of the 18th century the leaders of German thought desired to recover their Episcopate from the hands of the English bishops. With a little courage and patience—and a lot of sympathetic understanding on both sides—what the forefathers of both the English and German peoples dreamed and desired then may be an accomplished fact—perhaps even in the lifetime of some of the readers of this number of the *Church Quarterly*.

C. E. Douglas.

REVIEWS

A History of Israel. By THEODORE H. ROBINSON AND W. O. E. OESTERLEY. 2 Vols. (The Clarendon Press.) 15/-. each.

THE two volumes before us amply supply one of the direst needs of this moment, and that is an authoritative history of Israel, based on the latest research and the latest knowledge. The reputation of the two authors is very familiar to all who follow the recent trend of Old Testament scholarship. The genesis of these two important volumes is worth giving. At its winter meeting in December, 1928, the Society for Old Testament Study discussed *inter alia* the supply of works on the history of Israel. Of the demand there could be no doubt, and the discussion revealed that quite clearly. During the discussion, we learn, Dr. Robinson stated that he had been planning such a book and collecting material for it for many years. Two obstacles stood in his way. One was his inability to secure adequate leisure for its writing, and the other lay in the fact that his special studies had been mainly on the pre-exilic period. Then Dr. Oesterley stated that he had been working for many years on similar lines, but his studies had been mainly on the post-exilic period. The members present encouraged the co-operation of the two scholars, and in less that four years we have this valuable work before us. Dr. Robinson examines the period from Exodus to the fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C., while Dr. Oesterley takes up the history at the precise point where his collaborator drops it, and continues it to the Bar-Kokba revolt, A.D. 135.

Dr. Robinson at once acknowledges that the supreme contribution of Israel to human thought lies in the sphere of religion, though he lays this sphere to the one side. He is, however, thoroughly justified in his course, for he and his collaborator have already dealt with this matter succinctly elsewhere. Book I deals with Israel's heritage, Book II with the birth and growth of the nation, Book III with the rise and zenith of the Israelite monarchy, and Book IV with the decline and fall of the Israelite monarchies. While all the four books reach a high level, in some respects we prefer the first because in it assiduous attention is paid to the land and the races of Palestine and the traditions that went to form Israel's ancestry. This book tests the powers of the author most severely, and he emerges triumphantly from the test. As the surface of the earth presents obstacles, so it offers channels for the easy movement of humanity. Along these

nature-made highways history repeats itself. What the Danube Valley has been to central Europe, the maritime plain of Palestine has been to the inhabitants of the Holy Land. A long stretch of coast in Palestine, poorly equipped with harbours, failed to counteract the attractions of the Jesreel valley, with its gardens and orchards, and the pastures of the desert-bred Jews. It is significant of much that the Jews never took to the sea, which explains the heartfelt expression of St. John when he saw with satisfaction that in heaven "there was no more sea." Dr. Robinson makes due allowance for the physical environment of the Israelites, and he never allows us to forget it. He possesses the art of judiciously introducing it occasionally, and he does so with the happiest results. The eleven maps form a distinct addition to his volume. He also gives us indices of Biblical references, of the modern authors cited and of the general one, and these all enhance the value of this book for reference. Dr. Oesterley is just as lavish in his indices, for he gives us one of Biblical and post-Biblical passages, one of modern authors cited, and one of subjects. We have tested them in search of evidence on some matters and found them all meticulously accurate.

Book I of Dr. Oesterley deals with the period of the Exile, the period of Restoration, and the period of Nehemiah and Ezra; Book II with the Greek period; Book III with the Maccabean period; and Book IV with the Roman period. He too has maps and a short and carefully selected bibligraphy. In Book I he is on familiar ground where he moves easily. The sections in this book on the Jews in Palestine during the Exile, the foundation and completion of the Temple, and, above all, the survey of the religious, social and economic conditions during the Persian period impressed us by their sanity of outlook and their depth of insight. The author renders it impossible for us not to realise that there were wide differences in outlook between the Jews who stopped at home and those who were exiled, and he works out these differences with conspicuous power. One remained in Palestine and though they used the Hebrew speech they came in time to adopt Aramaic. The other departed for other lands where they had to acquire Greek, then spoken throughout the region of the Mediterranean. Inevitably the home-staying Jews turned increasingly conservative, while the exiles imbibed somewhat of the Greek culture and certainly of the Greek spirit. Point after point is explained in lucid fashion, and Dr. Oesterley seems to us to be at his best when he soars above the details he gives us and rises to a general point of view. Sometimes it is difficult with some writers on the Old Testament to see the wood for the trees, but with both Dr. Robinson and Dr. Oesterley we never experience this difficulty. They are not afraid to hazard

paradoxes. Dr. Robinson, in laying emphasis on the work cut out for the exiles in Babylon, maintains that in them the true tradition of Israel lived, and accordingly it is nevertheless true that Israel's work began only when to the superficial eye she had just ceased to be. Nor is Dr. Oesterley afraid to compare the Messianic hope to the spirit of loyalty that animated the Jews in their revolt against Rome. The volumes of both writers impress us as providing precisely a special need of this moment, and both at once step into authoritative rank.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Nicene Creed. Edited by A. MINGANA. Woodbrooke Studies. Vol. V. (Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1932) 21*s.*

THE study of oriental sources is gradually bringing many of the lost works of the Fathers to light, with the result that, for the first time, many of the "heretics" of the fourth and fifth centuries and of the Christological controversy are able to get a hearing in modern days and speak for themselves. The consequence is often to make modern students doubt whether these men taught what they were condemned for teaching, There can be no question that the Church was guided to right doctrinal pronouncements, but often a great question whether the crippling schisms of that age might not have been avoided, if the human instruments had acted in more Christian wise.

One of the most important of the series yet brought to light is this treatise, which Fr. Mingana found in Mesopotamia and now edits in this book. The MS. was too far decayed to admit of reproduction, but he gives us a good Syriac text and English translation. One turns to it to see how far the rule given applies in this instance.

Theodore, the author, was the most profound and independent thinker of a great age, and the leader of the "Antiochene" school of thought. Born *circ.* 350, he had made such a name for learning and devotion at the age of twenty, as to cause a thrill of horror when he showed himself human enough to fall in love and meditate marriage—a disaster that was averted!

Trained under his master Diodorus of Tarsus—another writer whose works were known to be existing in Mesopotamia a few years ago—he won a reputation in the last scenes of the struggle with Arianism. He was a Bishop in 392, having been ordained presbyter nine years before, and was important enough to catch the eye of the emperor Theodosius in 394.

Though recognised as the great teacher of his day, he was left in his small see for 35 years, till his death in 428. In life he was the friend of St. John Chrysostom (who declared himself consoled in his exile "by the love of so vigilant and noble a soul,") and of John of Antioch; after his death his reputation became even greater for he became "*the* Interpreter" to all Easterns, particularly to those outside the limits of the empire; and when the Nestorian quarrel arose even his great opponent Cyril dare not propose any censure upon him "lest the whole East should rise in revolt." He has been called "felix opportunitate mortis," in that by his death he avoided condemnation. It is at least as possible that the influence of one so reverenced might have made Nestorius more reasonable, and restrained the over-zeal that admittedly led Cyril astray.

It was only 125 years later, in 553, that Justinian secured his condemnation in the "Three Chapters" controversy. The posthumous condemnation, iniquitous in itself, was admittedly political in its object. It was to be a bribe to make the Monophysites accept Chalcedon by condemning their opponents; and it failed of its purpose. Monophysites were only given a fresh stone to throw at the council, while the "Assyrian" church of the Persian empire, merely estranged before, were now driven into their first act of formal separation by the wrongful condemnation of their hero.

Their schism dates from the "Three Chapters" and not from Ephesus.

The books of Theodore, destroyed in the West, have been preserved in Syriac dress in the East to our own day—though the practical destruction of the heroic church that has preserved them is one of the stains on recent British history. In the present work, we are given the chance of seeing what Theodore really taught, and what was the teaching that Justinian's agents condemned as "the impious criminal blasphemies that Theodore vomited against our God and Saviour." The Council showed no great anxiety to do justice to his intention, and occasionally misquoted his words. The book consists of the lectures that he delivered to Catechumens before baptism and belongs therefore to no one period of his life. It is interesting to see how advanced was the dogmatic instruction then given to "Confirmation candidates"; it also throws an interesting sidelight on the history of the Creed. Theodore comments on the original Nicene creed, though he allows the authority of the "Constantinople addition," and attributes it to a western council endorsed by the East.

As Theodore was a leading opponent of Arianism, there is no question of his absolute orthodoxy on such questions as the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the complete Divinity of Christ.

What he is accused of teaching on the Christological question is, not so much a true Incarnation, as the Association of the divine Word with a man, who thus grows progressively into such a union with him as a mere man can attain, and is at the best, an arch-saint rather than God Incarnate. "He is devout and learned" says Dr. Bright "but profoundly unorthodox." Yet his ideas are at least most interesting.

As a thinker, Theodore is the first—to the writer's belief—to put forward ideas that are having a deep influence on religious thought in our own days. To him—though he does not stress it in this treatise—man is the microcosm, the reflection in little of the universe, and as such, the bond of creation. Also he comes very near indeed to the inspiring thought of the scholastic philosophers, of the Incarnation as the eternal purpose of God for man, a purpose actually worked out under the disturbing influence of sin, but not concerned only with the redemption of man. Thinking thus, he deals with the Incarnation as it actually took place, and is concerned to stress first the reality of the humanity and its completeness (though against Arians rather than Apollinarians), and second, the real unity of the humanity assumed with the divine.

In doing this however, he has to work in terms that are still undefined and loose, and seems to avoid, as far as possible, these technical terms. Thus, while he has to use such terms as "nature" (Kiana) and Person (Parsopa or prosopon), he shuns the term "Hypostasis," and never uses it except in a clearly non-technical sense. It may be mentioned that to him as to the Assyrians who were his pupils, there can be no doubt that the word "parsopa" means "person" in the fullest sense of the word, i.e. Person or individual. (See, e.g. page 80, line 29).

But, while he uses expressions that can only be interpreted as implying a belief in the personal unity of the incarnate Christ, and while the particular expressions that a later age selected for condemnation appear to be merely natural when read in relation to their context (e.g. Chap. VI, p. 648) "Nobody believes that he who is from the Jews according to the flesh is God by nature, or that God who is above all if from the Jews by nature") there can be no doubt that he is often a dangerous guide. His favourite word for the relation of the divine and human natures in Christ is "complete conjunction" (Naqiputha, the Greek *συναφεια*) though Father Mingana, with a laudable desire to do justice to his hero, always translates the word by what he feels implied in it, viz "close union."

Theodore however confesses—what neither his friends or enemies remember—that (Ch.I.) "human language is an imperfect union, and it is through symbols that we approach our hope."

He is clear too that the Incarnation is a raising of man to the throne of the most high and that "the manhood assumed and made perfect became worthy of a new and ineffable life that he generalised to all the race. (V. p. 60, 14-15.) The doctrine that in his ascension, in a humanity that has become adorable because of the union, Christ is the first fruits of our race, is a doctrine that is not only true in itself, but not compatible with what is usually called Nestorianism. The book reveals him as an inspiring speculator; but one no more "Nestorian" than, e.g. S. Leo of Rome.

It is rash to criticise the translation of a man who, like Fr. Mingana, does his thinking in Syriac, but as we have already pointed out one instance we may venture on another. The term "Barnasha" is always translated "a man," and thus Theodore is made to say "Christ was made a man," or "assumed a man." This has undoubtedly an ugly ring; yet in the creed the same phrase is usually rendered "was made man," which has a distinctly different theological nuance. The same rendering ought to be used for both phrases, and to do Fr. Mingana justice, he does so. (See p. 51, where the crucial clause in the creed is translated "was made a man!")

We have then to thank Fr. Mingana for a work that is a real contribution both to the history of doctrine, and to the memory of a great man who was ill-treated posthumously. We must add that both the format of the book, and the type—in both the languages—are a joy to the student.

We wonder however if the Father would make a concession to the weak in his next work. It is hard to refer from an English text to a Syriac one, where no guiding points are provided—as they are not, normally, in Syriac. (Our debt to capital letters and plain paragraphs is only realised when we have to do without them.) If the Editor would insert the number and title of the chapter at the top of each page, and would also put the numbers of the pages of the English text at the right points in the Syriac, and of the Syriac in the English, students would be grateful to him. As it is, the reader has to do this for himself as a condition of being able to refer from translation to text and vice versa.

W. A. Wigram.

St. John of the Cross. By Fr. Bruno, O.D.C., Edited by Fr. Benedict Zimmerman, O.D.C., with an Introduction by Jacques Maritain. (Sheed and Ward, London, 1932). 18*s.* net.

Saint Jean de la Croix. By Fr. Bruno de J.M., Carme déchaux. Préface de Jacques Maritain. (Librairie Plon, Paris). 40 fr. Edition originale, 1929; Nouvelle Edition, (onzième) Mai 1932.

BETWEEN the appearance of M. Jean Baruzi's *Saint Jean de la Croix* (1924), and the first publication of Fr. Bruno's book, M. Baruzi had in the press a revised edition. To complicate matters further, while this English rendering was in preparation, Fr. Bruno's revision, somewhat adding to his sources, and occasionally altering his criticism, was about to appear, though, as Fr. Zimmerman notes, still not obtainable here.

To the Madrid Documents, regarded by M. Baruzi as "primary sources," Fr. Bruno added vital Roman papers, viz., from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, "the Preliminary Process of Inquiry (1614-1618)," "The Apostolic Process (1614-1628) for the Beatification of St. John of the Cross," and the rare documents (only to be found in the Barberini Library of the Vatican and the Bodleian), "The Constitutions of the Reform, 1562-1578." In this revised Edition, he has also used certain new critical Editions of St. John's works, as well as notable articles upon him. In all this, he has had one aim: to produce "a study of the life and person of the Doctor of the Universal Church," for "to see him as he lived helps towards a better grasp of the meaning of his teaching."

M. Baruzi, though not neglecting the details of the Saint's life, desired to examine and present what he considered his philosophical, psychological traits, aspects and views. Fr. Bruno, among other theologians, traversed Baruzi's philosophy, and sometimes his handling of facts, the latter notably in the circumstances of John's escape from Toledo, nor is he satisfied by the French critic's new edition. Concerning the recent research of Don. Miguel Asìn Palacios of Madrid, to which Baruzi invited attention, F. Bruno writes:

> "Apport tres précieux, qui nous oblige dans notre chapitre dix-septième, à distinguer avec plus de précision, au coeur de l'Islam, la mystique des contre-façons, dont Algazel lui-même . . . nous a fourni la description."

The English Edition has the solid advantage of a Postscript, by Fr. Zimmerman, on an old puzzle. Otherwise, all who read French easily will do best to read the original; for the translator, presumably not the editor, renders, to say the least, freely; and sometimes his work lacks, more than a translation needs must, the primal salt, whether of M. Maritain or the author. In illustrations, the new revision exceeds the English by ten, often beautiful, and by the Saint well-loved, stretches of country.

No doubt, metaphysics and psychology enter into all human activity; but they are not the vital business of saints and mystics: therefore Fr. Bruno's aim, to make men "see him as he lived" —"lived" all the time, everywhere—not only, as he moderately says, "helps," but is the sovereign help "towards a better grasp

of the meaning of his teaching," far outstripping philosophical explication.

Proof of the need of such "grasp" is furnished by the too frequent strange misunderstandings and perverse criticisms by superficial readers, missing as they do "all the difference between the superhuman and the inhuman."

M. Maritain, in his vigorous fashion deals with and condemns attempts to over-philosophise the Saint, in this well rendered passage:

> There is no more violent distortion, no more insupportable paradox, than that which would make of St. John of the Cross an intellectualist in search of a highly rarefied and refined form of knowledge, a sort of supermetaphysic necessary to complete him. What he himself desired for completion was suffering and contempt, for the sake of him he loved.

How, indeed, could St. John seek metaphysics?—since, expanding Stanza xxvii of the *Cantico*, he had written, "The perfect soul is wholly and entirely love"; and in its Prologue (to Anne of Jesus, whom Bañes once described as equal in sanctity to S. Teresa, but surpassing her in natural gifts) he had written:

> "Your Reverence is not accustomed to assimilate divine truths according to the method of Scholastic Theology, but you are familiar with mystical Theology, which is acquired by love."

This however, is perhaps the least important of M. Maritain's two points because few comparatively read philosophers, and those who do may discern the value of M. Baruzi's non-controversial contributions to understanding this saint.

The alleged "harshness" of John, M. Maritain's other point is of more urgent practical moment, because this misapprehension, specially in to-day's rather sentimentalist atmosphere, may determine some to pass by this man "little in stature, but great in God's sight," one of the most penetrating of Mystics.

Harshness is a charge, whether to his own hardly driven self or to others, which needs to be rebutted, as Fr. Bruno and M. Maritain do, by showing it to be destructive of his deepest convictions, of his unalterable practice, of his reiterated teaching. It is no easy task, as the bare facts may, at first sight, seem incapable of sublimation. It is a subtle merit of this book that as chapter succeeds chapter, presenting in his speech, in his many-sided contacts with good, bad and indifferent persons, in his simplicity, his heroic patience, his love of God, his fellow men and the "creatures," in his wisdom, yes, and sometimes in his humour, John "as he lived," the reader first perceives the absurdity of this plea of cruelty, and finally forgets all about it.

Yet, the facts remain, and it is only one who like Plato's philosopher "sees all things together" who can receive, appreciate, accept the whole mass of facts ; so contradictory apart, so winning as a whole when fitted together. For himself, he did desire suffering and contempt, and bore them super-heroically. Even the Toledo tortures were less than his dying agonies, that last dread pain, when the doctor, having exposed the bones and the nerves from the heel to the top of the calf, John, to a would-be questioner, only said "Excuse me, Father, I cannot answer. I am devoured by pain."

Nevertheless, at Granada, for a lay-brother with a broken leg, he himself roasted a chicken and fed him with spoonfuls, to the accompaniment of loving encouragement. Well, does Fr. Bruno say "He treated his friars as men, not machines."

To pass from the heroic to every day, he, like all the great saints, knew all about life's practical, provoking details :

> "John never worried. 'Worry is always useless.' George of St. Joseph's pot of rice might boil over and burn just at meal-time. *Do not be worried, my son: let us have whatever you have got. Our Lord does not mean us to eat rice.*

Once, to the Carmelite nuns of Beas, he gave this Counsel, "To suffer, to act, to be silent," just as S. Thomas à Kempis taught : *Si tu scis tacere et pati, videbis procul dubio auxilium Domini.* Just because he could suffer to the very end, could be silent, so also he could "act" ; and, as his life shews, because he loved God, and all else in and for God, therefore he could act discriminatingly.

Ready himself for pain, ready to support others called on to endure it, nevertheless he was merciful to pain-wrung bodies, even occasionally to his own. He died in December 1591. In the previous September, already exceedingly ill, his abscessed leg seeming "as if it were being cut off," he started on the seven leagues journey between his penal Peñuela and Ubeda, allowing his "little beast," as he called his body, the doubtful comfort, as he could hardly sit it, of a small mule. After three leagues, his lay-brother begged him to rest by a bridge, for a mouthful of food. John expressed his willingness and the futility of trying, "because I have no appetite for any of the things which God has created except asparagus, and that is out of season." Yet, on the bridge, close by, lay two bundles ! Having placed two small coins in their stead against the owner's return, he ate it. In spite of defamers, his ascetical handling of both body and soul was discriminating. M. Maritain explains :

> When John of the Cross, in his *Spiritual Warnings*, addressed to the Carmelite nuns of Beas, tells them to tear out by the roots all attachment to their families, does anybody imagine

that he is here contradicting the common teaching of the Church . . . on the love we owe our parents ? On the contrary, he pre-supposes that teaching . . . He is *sure* of the souls he is addressing.

"Ay ! there's the rub ! " These charges of harshness, levelled against the Saints, and at him in particular, arise from the wholesale publication, anyhow, by anyone, of great mystical and ascetical truths, meant for souls of whom the original teacher was "sure." It is unavoidable nowadays : therefore, writers, well supplied with vital documents, alive to the Saints' many-sidedness, are the only people who can supply the remedy.

It must not be forgotten that ascetic as John was, yet, loving God, and all things in and for him, he necessarily loved Nature. It was the Ascetic of Toledo who wrote the Chapter in the *Subida* (iii, xxiii) on "Sensible goods . . . The regulations of the Will in respect to them." Again and again, Fr. Bruno demonstrates, as by the Grotto at Segovia, the saint's belief that

"the solitude and silence of the fields raise up the mind, so does the lovely sight of simple things."

John of the Cross does not differ from Thomas à Kempis who wrote

"Si rectum cor tuum esset, tunc omnis creatura speculum vitæ et liber sanctæ doctrinæ esset. Non est creatura tam parva et vilis, quae Dei bonitatem non repraesentet:"

nor from Cardinal Bellarmine who taught "the necessity of seeking God by a ladder of things created."

With amazing concentration, Fr. Bruno weaves the threads together :

"when once the golden cord is broken and the heart detached and purified, in ' the strong lye of the night of the spirit,' it will then, having reached the stage of union which cannot be lost, begin to love with a tenderness hitherto unknown, for grace elevates, and does not destroy, nature."

It was his heroic endurance, his "absolute detachment," joined to an exquisite poise of judgment which enabled St. John of the Cross to defeat evil by enduring its most savage cruelty, to be silent or speak opportunely, to give counsel and to rest content, whether it were taken or left ; to suffer the tyranny of Doria, to bear patiently Gracian's capital errors of judgment in crises, to work in health—such as he ever had—and at last to die in physical agonies but in spiritual peace. For it was not St. John of the Cross but St. Teresa, who loved Gracian so well, who wrote to him,

"I am amazed at hearing that you want more crosses : for

God's sake leave us without them, for you do not bear them alone. Let us rest for a few days."

In his Postscript, Fr. Zimmerman clears up several matters, showing *e.g.* that John's sufferings at Peñuela and after were due not so much to the Calced as to errors among the Reformed, specially to the tryanny of Doria, so that it was not "a kindly visitation from God in answer to the prayer of a heroic soul." Further, he adds features to the usual portrait of Gracian, "the most promising man in the ranks of the Discalced Carmelites . . . who unwittingly brought the nascent Reform to the brink of ruin" : and he indicates the contributions of Philip II to the whole trouble, because he "took a larger share in the government of the Church than is compatible with canonical rules."

Gracian's blunders and the strife in the Order, made possible Toledo's brutally painful days. Fr. Zimmerman, while asking, —"could he not have appealed to the Nuncio ? "—summarily silences this suggestion of "common-sense" :

> "he did nothing but suffer in silence, in imitation of his Lord and Master. He chose the highest line of conduct, and had his reward in the marvellous mystical experience granted him during the months of his martyrdom : "

a noble vindication of him whom Cowley's lines on Crashaw supremely fit :

> Poet and Saint ! to thee alone are given
> The two most sacred names of earth and heaven ;
> The hard and rarest union that can be,
> Next that of Godhead and humanity.

GERALDINE HODGSON.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the beginning of the English Reformation to the death of Elizabeth. By W. K. JORDAN. (George Allen and Unwin, 1932.) 20s.

THIS is an important book. It is carefully written, well documented, has an excellent bibliography and a well constructed index. The author has read widely, exercised a judicious criticism, and has expressed his views with admirable moderation. The development of religious toleration is indeed not very obvious, but we are told of all that was written on this subject, and we are made to understand why religious toleration was impossible in the sixteenth century.

Acontius produced an admirably argued treatise on the subject, but it was an academic exercise. Those who approved his principles knew quite well that they could not act on them ; the time

was not yet ripe. The oppressed and persecuted made out excellent pleas why they themselves should be tolerated, but they were unwilling to extend the same toleration to others. The religious felt that it was wrong in any way to countenance error, and the irreligious were afraid of dissidence. It was certainly dangerous. Men had yet to learn, says Dr. Jordan, that "political loyalty resides in considerations apart from religious beliefs." This is regarded by most people as an axiom to-day. It is an assumption on which all States apart from Russia act. But it is not altogether the truth even now, and it was certainly false in the reign of Elizabeth. No doubt the great majority of Papists wished to be loyal, but they could not renounce the Pope who had excommunicated Elizabeth and called on the Faithful to dethrone her. No doubt most of the Puritans were enthusiastic for the Queen, but they were plotting to overthrow the Church which she supported, and according to their Discipline claimed rights over individuals which no government would willingly concede. The mediæval theory of Church and State worked out by Whitgift, Hooker and Erastian Lawyers left no standing room for those who dissented from the Established Church. Realists like Elizabeth and Cecil were not slaves to such a theory; but they saw the advantages of a decorous uniformity, and were fully alive to the duty of self-preservation. To ensure this they passed barbarous laws against Recusants and Puritans, but they were too wise to put them into operation except on emergencies. Fear, and fear not without justification, inspired the persecutions in Elizabeth's reign; and in times of panic it is the more innocent who are most likely to suffer, so Campion was executed and Parsons escaped.

Had England been left to herself, the unity for which Elizabeth and Cecil worked so patiently might have been achieved. Their scheme was wrecked by foreign influence. The Puritans depended on Geneva and the Jesuits were directed from Rome. We, like some Roman Catholic historians, are apt to blame the Jesuits for their intransigeance, but it is only fair to admit that in the Roman interest they were right and more clear sighted than the secular clergy who opposed them. Had the "Spiritual" party triumphed, and a limited toleration been achieved, most of the Romanists would have been absorbed in the Church of England within two generations. The plots and the persecutions made this impossible; and so the Jesuits succeeded in preserving a Roman Catholic Church in this country and making the Church of England more Protestant than she would have been.

In one sense, as we have said, there was little development of religious toleration in England during this period. The mind of the nation was opposed to it. On the other hand as Dr. Jordan

shows it was in Elizabeth's reign that events so shaped themselves that toleration was ultimately inevitable. Minorities of Dissidents organised and entrenched themselves. They were too numerous to be exterminated, and too convinced to be converted. Toleration was only a matter of time. Elizabeth, who probably in a tepid way sympathised with Catholics, and Cecil, who in a tepid way sympathised with Puritans, were united in this determination to prevent any armed insurrection, and not to submit to foreign interference. With skill and patience they lived from day to day, doing not what they would have liked to do, but what they were able. Facing rather different conditions they were at one in spirit with the Politiques in France. In a much more difficult position they were one in spirit with the statesmen in Europe to-day. Toleration comes with the recognition of the facts. It is applauded by statesmen secretly aware that they have not the force to compel beliefs or control consciences. There is nothing religious in it. State toleration is not the fair child of Christian Charity, but the daughter of Expediency disguised and adorned in a borrowed cloak.

H. Maynard Smith.

Warburton and the Warburtonians. A Study in some Eighteenth Century Controversies. By A. W. Evans. (Oxford University Press). 15*s*.

This is a particularly satisfying book, for it obviously springs out of the author's wide knowledge of his period and also out of his ardent, yet discriminating, admiration for the men he is describing. It is remarkably easy to manifest a tinge of condescension when discussing Warburton and Hurd, Towne and Toup, and all the members of the Warburtonian circle. From first page to last of a volume which we have read with growing admiration, there is not a touch of the superior man. Mr. Evans contrives to make us feel that "The Alliance between Church and State" and "The Divine Legation of Moses," not to speak of other minor works, are thoroughly alive, and as we read these pages we at once come round to the author's attitude. Intimacy with the period and love of the characters who go to make it inspire the whole book, and as we finish it we own to a more thorough grasp of the men who clustered around Warburton.

Warburton himself laid down that "the most agreeable subject in the world, which is, Literary History," and with this view we cordially concur. It is perfectly plain that the author heartily concurs. In 1736 appeared two remarkable books, Butler's "Analogy" and Warburton's "Alliance." We can offset the

pessimism of the one bishop by the optimism of the other. If ever a man believed in the *status quo*, it was Warburton, and his faith in "the present happy condition of Church and State" was at least as strong as his belief in the "revolution principles," as they were then called, of 1688. The foundations of civil and religious liberty had been then securely laid. Toleration had arrived: comprehension had departed. The corruption of the past—of course it was entirely corrupt—had disappeared. The fanaticism of the Puritan and the Papist had also disappeared. The State afforded reasonable security for the agricultural and commercial enterprise of man. The Church realised herself in reasoning, and reason was exalted at the expense of faith. This was the best of all the possible worlds were it not for the mischievous activities of the Wesleys and the Whitefields, who sought to make it better.

"The Alliance" is based throughout on the contract theory, though occasionally its author allows us to catch a glimpse of two societies, *societates perfectæ*. Now the amazing matter is that in 1603 Althusius, a learned German official, considers the existence not merely of two societies but also of many more societies existing within the State. We have not read Warburton's writings, except the "Alliance," for some time, but we cannot recall a reference to Althusius in any part of them Perhaps Mr. Evans will elucidate this matter which intrigues us very much indeed. The author has rendered us one considerable service, and that is he has analysed the "Alliance" with the consideration to which it is amply entitled. This is more, much more, than Sir Leslie Stephen ever attempted. The gulf that separates Mr. Evans and Sir Leslie Stephen is that the former wishes to see the point of view Warburton is bent upon setting forth before the reader while Sir Leslie Stephen no less wishes to criticise this point of view. At the same time we do not mean that the author is content with blind admiration. He can see the faults in Warburton, but he can also see how much is due to his age, and how much is due to himself.

Ideas are sympathetically analysed, and they are set in due regard to their background: so too are the originators of these ideas. Naturally Warburton is the outstanding man in this illuminating volume, yet as well as gaining a new attitude to him, we also gain a favourable one to Hurd. Macaulay is answerable for not a little of the prejudice that sadly clouds the memories of both men, and Mr. Evans is conspicuously successful in the care with which he disperses these clouds, and allows the true greatness of both divines to appear. "In placing myself so near to him," declared Hurd, "in this edition of his immortal works I have the fairest, perhaps the only chance of being known to

posterity myself. Envy and Prejudice have had their day: And when his name comes, as it will do, into all mouths, it may then be remembered that the writer of this life was honoured with some share of his esteem; and had the pleasure of living in the most intire and unreserved friendship with him, for near Thirty years."

Like all true writers, Mr. Evans has made many discoveries, and indeed he has made more discoveries than most. Take one of them. Mr. Evans has proved that Warburton wrote the papers in the "Daily Journal" of 1728 which pretty effectively destroyed the then common admiration for Pope and the correct school of poetry. This is but one sample out of many, and yet perhaps the finest discovery of all is the appreciation that Warburton and Hurd, and the other Warburtonians all meet at the hands of one who metes out to them discriminating appreciation. The writings of the first half of the eighteenth century are sufficiently distant from us. Two great Wars, the Napoleonic and the World War, stand between us and them, and yet, thanks to the insight of Mr. Evans, the writings and the writers of his period are all full of life, and we realise that between that life and the apparently widely different life of our generation, there is no real separation. Macaulay was not given to re-considering the verdicts he passed, whether in his "History" or the pages of his diary, yet we cannot help thinking that if he were alive to-day, the ability of Mr. Evans would compel even him to a fresh interpretation of the characters of Warburton and Hurd.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

Prayer. A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion. By FRIEDRICH HEILER. (Oxford University Press). 16/-.

THE first thing to be said on behalf of this volume is that it has been very well translated and abridged by Dr. Samuel McComb and Dr. J. Edgar Park. The fifth German edition on our shelves contains more than a quarter of a million words and more than two thousand quotations. Dr. Heiler, who is Professor of the History of Religions in the University of Marburg, has already attracted much attention here, and this book will certainly secure that he will attract much more. The preface is short and revealing, for in it we learn that the author has written his book under the inspiration of three men, Archbishop Söderblom, the Lutheran Archbishop of Upsala, whose death last year we still lament; Dr. Karl Adam, a Roman Catholic Professor of Dogmatics in the University of Tübingen; and to Baron Friedrich Von Hügel, the outstanding Roman Catholic layman

of our generation Nor is it too much to state deliberately that there is a spirit of true catholicity in these pages, learned with the wisdom of the ages and devout with the kinship they exhibit with the great leaders in mysticism and prayer in the past. Dr. Heiler claims to have now reached an œcumenical attitude, and he certainly ought to have, considering the astonishing religious changes which he epitomises in his person. He has passed from Roman Catholicism to Evangelical Catholicism, from the Roman community to the Lutheran, and thence to kindly relationship with the Anglican and with the Orthodox Churches.

Cardinal Newman once laid down the position that here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often. Assuming the truth of this position, we affirm that Professor Heiler has advanced far on the road that leads to ultimate perfection.

For most of us, as for the author, the practice of prayer remains a very difficult matter. It has been our lifelong habit. We should feel uneasy, most uneasy, if we tried to do without it, and at intervals we have witnessed enough of its significance to wish that we knew more. Notwithstanding our long practice, this is a region of experience in which at time we realise we are not so familiar as we might be. It is like a rich country shadowed over by a mist. Under the cloud we dimly feel all that is most real. Here lies a way most necessary for our spiritual growth. Here others walk with clear vision and with kindling hearts, as knowing well the fellowship in which they move. But we, like strangers, have now and then to feel our way, though now and then we share their experience.

Can Dr. Heiler help us? He certainly can help us to understand the richness and the variety of prayer, and he can help us all the more if we are philosophers, and, above all, if we are mystical philosophers. There is a vein of mysticism running through the whole of this important volume, and why not? Handel used to lay down that the soul of music lay in no music at all, for he well knew the effects of a rest coming after a great outburst of melody, the rest raising the spirit of the listener as nothing else could. Similarly, the author holds that one of the highest forms of prayer is where no words are used, where the soul is caught up into that heaven with men like St. Paul where he cannot find language into which he can put his experience. "Prayer," Dr. Heiler holds, "is the great bond of Christendom; and not only of Christendom, but of all mankind. Prayer is the most tangible proof of the fact that the whole of mankind is seeking after God; or—to put it more correctly—that it is sought by God" Mankind at prayer is a proof of the universal *revelation* of God. For it is precisely in prayer that we have revealed to us

the *essential* element of all religion, which Friedrich von Hügel, as well as Nathan Söderblom, was never tired of pointing out, viz., the "prevenience and givenness" of the grace of God. Prayer is not man's work, or discovery of achievement; but *God's* work in man—"for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered," There is not a little in this book on the nature of such groanings.

We set out with the conception of primitive prayer in which fear is the impelling as hope is the releasing motive. The author puts Greek religion higher, much higher, than any other form of primitive religion. He travels fast after these preliminaries, for we come to prayer in the experience of great religious personalities, beginning with the example of our Lord and practically coming down to our own day. Are there faults in this work? Of course there are, and what work has been without them? The author, like most Germans, leans far too heavily on the classifications he adopts, whereas the truth is that men at prayer will not readily fit into any classification whatsoever.

In Dr. Heiler's judgment, the two main types of personal piety are provided by the mystic and the prophet. In his view "the fundamental psychic experience in mysticism is the denial of the impulse of life . . . the fundamental psychic experience to prophetic religion is an uncontrollable will to live. . . . Mysticism is passive, quietist, resigned, contemplative; the prophetic religion is active, challenging, desiring, ethical. . . . The mystic is one who renounces, resigns, is at peace; the prophet is a fighter who ever struggles upwards from doubt to assurance, from tormenting uncertainty to absolute security of life, from despondency to fresh courage of soul, from fear to hope, from a depressing consciousness of guilt, to the blessed experience of grace and salvation."

Anyone familiar with the history of prophetic religion or of mystical religion will not find the faintest difficulty in noting exception after exception to these sweeping descriptions. St. Catharine of Siena was a mystic, but she was a practical mystic, and we should very much like to see where even the author would draw a line between her mystical ministry and her prophetical. Nevertheless, we have no desire to cavil at a book to which every one who carefully peruses it will owe much. Thomas à Kempis used to say, "*Magna ars est scire conversari cum Jesu.*" Of this great art Dr. Heiler has learnt much, and, it is good to find out, that he can pass on his knowledge to the reader of his moving volume.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

The Christian Life: Vol. 1, Standards; Vol. 2, Discipline. Edited by Oscar Hardman, D.D. (S.P.C.K.) 12*s.* 6*d.* per volume.

The second volume of this important book was published some months before the first. We are now in a position to review the whole work. Its aim is to meet the modern criticisms of Christian faith and practice in a positive and constructive manner, persuasively rather than didactically, to avoid both legalism and sentimentalism, and closely to associate the exposition of disciplinary methods with the statement of ethical ideals. Dr. Goudge writes with his usual clarity a refreshingly uncompromising essay on the distinctive character of the Christian way of life, emphasising at length the close connexion between creed and conduct. The next chapter by Mr. A. E. Baker might well be published as an independent volume. The subject is "The Formulation of the Christian Moral Ideal," and in the course of 110 pages the writer gives an outline of this formulation from the time of our Lord to the present day. It is really well done, and Mr. Baker is full of interesting ideas: he remarks, for instance, that there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that Epictetus was influenced by St. Paul. The wife of the Master of Balliol writes next on "Reverence," a subject which includes a discussion of the Family and Marriage and the observance of Sunday. It is not always easy to get at Mrs. Lindsay's exact meaning, but we gather that she and Dr. Goudge are not in complete agreement about the permissibility of the use of contraceptives. Dr. Goudge condemns their use altogether. "To use contraceptives," he writes, "quite apart from their inherent loathsomeness and the outrage to our Christian dignity is to do exactly what St. John means by loving the world and the things that are in the world; it is to rest in lower ends instead of looking beyond them" (p. 49). Mrs. Lindsay seems to regard their use as an unsatisfactory temporary measure, which may be justified in certain cases. Her essay loses much by its lack of clarity. In contrast to this Bishop Heywood follows with a most lucid chapter on "Loyalty," in the course of which he argues convincingly in favour of the absolute indissolubility of Christian marriage in all circumstances. Canon Crum's pages on "Compassion" are rather disappointing. We do not like the following defence of fox-hunting as coming from a Christian minister. "What altogether is fox-hunting! It is a whole life of a great company of living creatures, living a more abundant life than there would be without foxes, and fox-hounds, hunters and ponies, men on foot or in the saddle. The voices of the pack in full cry, even the welcome by a pack of the Master who joins them at the covert-side, the eagerness of the bowed road-mender looking up . . . from his mud and road metal to see the glory of the hunts-

man's pink coat, the streaming of the boys and girls out of the school door, barking like hounds, to see the field go by . . . All that has to be taken into your view when you are deciding whether 'fox-hunting is cruel' because it does not allow the fox to live in peace (for himself, at least), and to grow old (and starve to death), fox-hunting which, in fact is responsible for the life as well as for the death of the fox" (p. 286f.) The well-known Congregational minister Dr. Cadoux then contributes a chapter on "Overcoming evil with good." We could wish that both he and Canon Crum had written more strongly on the subject of War. Both seem more or less complacently to contemplate the regrettable possibility of Christians taking up arms in defence of their country. The view of both is fairly summed up in Dr. Cadoux's words: "The Christian's duty as to war would therefore seem to be to use all his power, politically and otherwise, to secure that his nation makes only right use of force, and to urge it towards the creation of an effective and inclusive inter-state judicature, so as to minimise if not abolish the occasions for inter-state coercion" (p. 338). The two remaining essays in the first volume—on "Honest Dealing" by Professor Rogers, and "The Increase and Use of Wealth" by the Editor—are penetrating and timely, both the writers being really in touch with the actual problems by which men and women are perplexed to-day. We are glad to see that persistent unpunctuality is condemned as a form of robbery.

The second volume is rather uneven. Two chapters in it are first-rate—one on "Direction in Holiness of Life" by the Dean of Rochester and one on "The Obligation of Satisfaction for Sin" by Mr. Percy Hartill. Priests who hear Confessions regularly cannot fail to profit by their careful study. Some knowledge of Psychology will be needed in order to appreciate Mr. C. E. Hudson's chapter on "The Growth of Christian Character." Mr. Browne-Wilkinson writes out of a wide experience on "The Religious and Moral Training of Children": parents and teachers will learn much of value from him. We are surprised to read that "children should not as a rule require individual absolution before Confirmation" (p. 96). Dr. Eck writes on "Direction in Spiritual Reading, Prayer and Meditation," and it would have been hard to find a greater expert to do so. Dr. Mozley has an interesting essay on "One Forgiveness of Sins," and the Editor reprints with an introduction a valuable part of Jeremy Taylor's "*Unum Necessarium.*" Canon Belton writes with profound knowledge and practical wisdom of "The Practice of Sacramental Confession." Mr. Passmore's chapter on "Classes and Types of Penitents" is very hard to read, because of his intolerable style. A quotation taken almost at random will give some idea of it.

"What abyss of psychic perspicuity, analytic subtlety, experiential knowledge, all-embracing synthesis, proportionate dispensive wisdom—to say nothing of personal holiness and love of men and women—shall suffice that task which we lightly call 'dealing with souls.'? Thanks be to God, that the true, original, and ultimate 'Ministry of Reconciliation' lies in the wounded Hands of a Pontiff Omniscient, Omnipotent, and Omnipresent to heal and save ; and that they can reach from out the Sanctuary of perpetual mediation to stay the hands, anoint the eyes, and guide the errant stewardship, of the earthly vessels of his treasure." (p. 297). The volume is fitly completed by a chapter on "The Reward of Righteousness" by Mr. G. D. Rosenthal.

On the whole the Editor may be congratulated on the success of his undertaking. Every priest and many laymen ought to possess these books, and that which is really good in them greatly outweighs that which is second-rate.

FREDERIC HOOD.

Israel from its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century. By ADOLPHE LODS, Professor at the Sorbonne, Paris. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1932). XXIV and 512 pp. : XVI Plates, 38 illustrations, 3 Maps. Price, 25*s* net.

QUITE the worst thing about this excellent book is its price, which will put it far beyond the range of the average clergyman's purse. This is very greatly to be regretted, for Professor Lods' work is not one to be perused hastily and then returned to the oblivion of a lending library : it is an encyclopaedia to be set handily on the study shelf, to be consulted constantly, to be read and re-read. Nor is it merely a mass of information, for it is extraordinarily readable, and the translator, Professor S. H. Hooks, must have his share of credit in the achievement. It is quite safe to say that we have here, without any close rivals inside its chosen limits, a survey of Israelite life and history which will form the English-speaking student's standard textbook for the next twenty years.

The book, while it stands on its own, fills a necessary place in a series of volumes on the History of Civilisation which is being published under the editorship of Mr. C. H. Ogden. Professor Lods had therefore a double justification for examining at length the culture and, in particular, the religious beliefs and practices of pre-historical and pre-Israelite Palestine. This survey, which constitutes Part I of his work, provides an admirable summary, historical, archaeological and epigraphic, of what is rapidly becoming a vast and complex field of study. There are minor blemishes here and there which might have been avoided—Tell

el Hesy, for example, is quite certainly *not* Lachish but (probably) Eglon (p. 4). It is extremely doubtful (to say the least) that there were ever any places Jacob-el, Joseph-el (pp. 7, 47, 158). It seems a pity to suggest at this date the existence of a western Arabian Muzri as distinct from Mizraim (p. 17). The description of the pottery illustrated could have been given a much sharper precision . . . . But such defects are of small consequence in comparison with the very high value of this section as a whole. The student will, in fact, find it indispensable for any clear understanding of the dangers which confronted Israel after the Settlement.

With Part II we pass on to a study of the Hebrew Nomads, their patriarchal traditions, social organisation, and religious life before the Mosaic age. A concluding chapter of this section examines the work of Moses. Professor Lods' method in dealing with the earliest traditions is at once critical and conservative. He insists that "each story must be examined by itself in order to discover what was its point of interest for the tellers and their listeners"; and he finds that this "point" was either ethnic (an "explanation" of the origin and history of tribes or peoples), etymological, cultural, or with some other aetiological significance. He refuses, on the other hand, to deny a possible historicity to the facts or personages with whom the legends are concerned. It is "within the range of possibility" that the names of the patriarchs may have been those of living men. The sojourn and oppression in Egypt are not to be treated as pure fiction, for "it still remains necessary to explain how the legend could have arisen and become one of the most essential and best attested elements of the national tradition." Moses himself is to be regarded as a historical and dominant personality, who brought over his people to the worship of Jahweh, the Kenite and perhaps Levite God of Sinai. The tradition of the holy mountain and the "impressive episodes of Jahweh's meeting with his people" are not merely "the product of the poetic fancy of a later age," and "there are good reasons for supposing" this mountain to have been a volcano. Professor Lods is less certain as to the exact content of the Mosaic teaching. He dismisses the Decalogue as "a faint echo of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries," and he sees the true origin of the work of the great Lawgiver in "his remarkable conviction that his God was almighty and paramount, that he would deliver the Hebrews and make them his people."

It will, in fact, be clear that his attitude throughout is dictated by a sober judgement and a temper which is critical without bias. If we cannot altogether accept his conclusions, it must be, in part at least, because we find him guilty of forgetting his own excellent canons of criticism. The assumption of the Kenite

origin of Jahweh, for example, is now so firmly fixed among certain Biblical scholars that we fear it will never be uprooted in this generation. After reading Professor Lods' earlier chapters we had high hopes of finding at last a refutation of this theory which is based (insecurely) on one of the most obviously unhistorical legends in the Old Testament. But it was not to be! It is to be regretted also that Professor Lods, while distinctly favouring the volcanic explanation of the events at Horeb (which is not and never could have been the Sinai of the well-known peninsula) should not have realised that in this explanation most probably lies the secret of the authority of Moses as the revealer of the majesty and power of Jahweh.

Part III carries us to the end of the author's chosen period, the fall of the house of Jehu. It is unfortunate that he was not acquainted with Professor Garstang's latest work when he came to deal with the period of the Judges. His own account remains in consequence confused and somewhat sketchy. It is curious, also, that in common with Professor Theodore Robinson he can find no real place for the figure of Samuel in Israelite history. While it may be admitted that the birth-story of the prophet has been taken over somewhat awkwardly from that of Saul and that some of the other stories about him are the products of a much later age, Samuel himself cannot be easily dissolved into nonentity, and we should have welcomed some attempt to estimate his services to Israel. For the rest, Professor Lods deals more than adequately with the historical perspective which he has set himself, and his concluding chapters on the social, economic, and political organisations of the Israelites in Palestine and, more especially, those upon Israelite religion, do the fullest justice to the importance of their subjects. His bibliography, though clearly more extensive than that of Professor Robinson, is marked by some not inconsiderable gaps. We have already referred to Professor Garstang's *Joshua, Judges*, but we can find no trace, also, of Professor Olmstead's *History of Palestine and Syria*. More serious still, the author seems unacquainted with the brilliant work of Dr. W. F. Albright whose articles in numerous journals and recent book on *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* have thrown much new light on nearly every period of the pre-exilic history. These omissions are to be regretted but the progress of Palestinian studies has quickened to such a pace in recent years that it is well-nigh impossible for any one writer to keep up with it. In the work before us Professor Lods has undoubtedly achieved a remarkable success in this direction and it would be churlish to end on a note of criticism. He has rendered to all students of the Old Testament a notable and lasting service.

W. J. Phythian-Adams.

SHORT NOTICES

The Great Victorians. Edited by H. J. Massingham and Hugh Massingham. (Ivor Nicholson and Watson, Ltd.). 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

Here is an instance of what may be called the Omnibus habit in publishers. This habit, however distressing to old fashioned people, appears to be congenial to the rising generation, one of whom to my knowledge can read the complete works of Jane Austen in one volume. This, however, is not a question of Jane Austen or even of Edgar Wallace. As the reader works through the five hundred and fifty-six pages of *Great Victorians*, still the wonder grows that so inconveniently bulky a volume should contain such curiously ephemeral matter. There is nothing in it that goes beyond the quantity and quality of a magazine article, and very little that one would expect a discriminating author to wish to preserve after it had appeared in a magazine. All or nearly all the writers seem to be slaves of the rather narrow literary convention of the present decade: and in characteristic accordance with that convention most of the studies tell us more about the writer than the subject. It would be ill natured to say that they will probably read each other's essays with great appreciation—but it is not easy to believe that these essays will greatly interest or inform a wider public. Scattered through this mass of printed matter there are certainly things worth reading, here and there an original thought, or an apt judgment. For example Mr. H. M. Tomlinson has some just and pertinent remarks on R. L. Stevenson and his critics. Mr. Chesterton is always Mr. Chesterton: but even he does not add much to his larger work on Dickens. The selection of the *Great Victorians* seems to be both obvious and defective. The preponderance given to literature is excessive: perhaps because the contributors are all litt'ry gents, or ladies. There is in the list no great Churchman, no soldier or administrator, no historian or scholar, and no painter outside the Pre-Raphaelite group. Perhaps the most remarkable omission is that of Benjamin Jowett.

J.H.F.P.

George A. Birmingham's Wisdom Book. (Ernest Benn, Ltd.). 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Wisdom Books of the Bible are certainly not studied as much as they deserve: and this neglect is partly due to the omission of the Apocrypha from most English Bibles, and the sparing use of it in the Sunday lessons. The industrious and versatile writer who is imperfectly concealed behind the mask of George Birmingham has now provided his public with an anthology to be read daily throughout

the year—and atones for a somewhat ambiguous title by his attractive introduction, and by giving the reference to each text. His labour will be rewarded if readers of his book are led to read through the books from which his extracts are taken. Short of that it is engaging to think of serious persons regularly studying each day's portion, and applying its gnomic wisdom to the practical problems of the ensuing twenty-four hours. Less serious persons may be tempted to look up their own and their friends' birthdays in the hope of finding the caption appropriate. Mine is most unflattering.

J.H.F.P.

St. Paul. By Wilfred Knox. (Peter Davies, Limited). 5*s.* net.

It is no disparagement of Mr. Knox to say that the quality in his *St. Paul* that first strikes the reader is its cleverness. Appearing, as it does, in a series which also includes Voltaire, Marlborough, and Lenin it is exactly right. Mr. Knox very wisely does not assume the preacher or the hero-worshipper, but writes as from the standpoint of his probable audience, the people who want to keep abreast of the best modern thought with the least possible trouble. He even condescends to bow a perfunctory knee in the house of the latest popular Rimmon—psychology. The psychologist, he tells his gratified readers, knows exactly what happened that day on the road to Damascus, and has the Gift of Tongues all explained and accounted for under its right heading in his notebook. These concessions to intellectual democracy do not, however, seriously impair the real value of the book. Mr. Knox's detached attitude to his subject has its advantages even for readers who are not accustomed to class St. Paul with Lenin and Voltaire. It results in a picture of St. Paul, not as a superman, but as a man who had to work his way through failure, to apparently partial and sometimes disappointing successes. His account of the Apostle's mind and character is the kind of sound psychology which existed for a great many centuries before it was labelled. The brevity and clearness of his treatment of the Epistles is admirable. Altogether this is a book which might lure a casual reader on to a serious study which might well have effects which he had never contemplated: and it is also a book which may be useful to the clergy by "depolarising" St. Paul, and letting them see how the educated man in the street looks at these things.

J.H.F.P.

*E*2. Mainly by H. A. Wilson. (W. Knott & Son, Ltd.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Wilson in his preface draws an unkind but, as one knows from sad experience, not an untrue picture of the average Parish Magazine: and then proceeds to lay down the much more questionable proposi-

tion that any parson, if he took the trouble, could compete in this matter on equal terms with S. Augustine's, Haggerston. It is the deliberate purpose of this review to promote the circulation of *E*2, which is a collection of articles taken from the S. Augustine's magazine, as exceptional and even unique—and that for several reasons. First because a wide sale of it would help to fill the parochial coffers of S. Augustine, and so ease the burdens of its author or authors ; secondly because it is a book which everyone should read, and particularly those who would be most shocked by it. It should certainly be in the hands of every member of the Church Assembly, because it presents forcibly an aspect of Church life with which many of them are content to remain unfamiliar. The combination of what they would call extreme Catholic teaching and ceremonial with evangelical piety and ungrudging service, and its practical effect in the lives of dwellers in mean streets, is a fact which it is not safe to ignore : and it is idle to pretend that it is confined to S. Augustine's and a few other churches of the same type. Where S. Augustine's does, to a certain extent, so far stand alone is that its clergy have shown themselves able to plead their cause, not only with convincing conviction, but with pathos, poetry, and humour ; and with a degree of literary charm, which, *pace* Mr. Wilson, is not granted, ex officio, to all parish priests.

J.H.F.P.

Lament for Adonis. By Edward Thompson. (Ernest Benn, Ltd.). 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Deserter. By Lajos Zillahy. Translated from the Hungarian by George Halasz. (Ivor Nicholson and Watson). 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Economists tell us that what the world is suffering from is over-production. There is such a superabundance of all the necessaries of life that great multitudes must go hungry and cold and naked. The connexion between cause and effect is a little obscure to the uneconomic mind : but a somewhat similar phenomenon is discernible in the world of Fiction. It must surely be a full spring tide which has cast up these two waifs on the inhospitable shore of the *Church Quarterly*. Statisticians would be able to inform us whether it is fifty or five hundred or five thousand new novels that come out every week. The *Observer* instructs us with authority that five or six of them every week are works of genius, whose relative excellence can only be judged by comparison with previous masterpieces of the same author. Here again the unliterary mind may be perplexed to find that the abundance of to-day is somehow less satisfying than the comparative dearth of other times. However it is certain that an astonishing number of ladies and gentlemen have mastered the craft of the novelist, and write with astonishing

competence. The *Lament for Adonis* is a good example of this competence. The descriptions of scenery in Jerusalem and Palestine are a model of accurate observation and the right economy of language: and I am told by people who were there that the account of the fighting is equally admirable. If the characters are less attractive to the reader than they are to each other, and presumably to the author, that may be the fault of the reader, and probably people are like that, as it happens so often in modern novels.

The Deserter is an instance of another type which is surprisingly popular with publisher and reviewer—a translation of a foreign novel suffering from the inevitable disadvantages of translation. It is the story of an unpleasant young Hungarian before, during, and after the War. People who like unpleasant novels will find it congenial, if they are not fidgetted by being constantly reminded by uneasy phrases that it was written in another language and has not quite got itself into English "as she is spoke."

J.H.F.P.

Faith and Society. By MAURICE B. RECKITT. (Longmans, Green). 15*s*.

THE most difficult period of history to investigate is that of the last twenty years, and the reasons for this are quite plain. We live too close to them in order to understand the true inwardness of the great events that have unfolded themselves before our eyes. Besides, we are utterly unable to obtain accurate information about them. True as this is of ordinary history, it is not nearly so true of the social movement. Quick to perceive this point, Mr. Reckitt provides us with an able and accurate account of the structure, outlook, and opportunity of the Christian Social Movement in Great Britain and the United States, concentrating most of his attention on the course of this movement during the last eighteen years notably among the English-speaking races. The author is plainly of the opinion that we have much to learn from the United States, and that the United States has much to learn from us. He knows both countries, and from his double range of knowledge, mainly at first hand, it is clear that his is a book to be reckoned with.

There is no surer sign that an author is writing matters based on original authorities than that he begins to see how many volumes ought to have been written before he took in hand his own task. Mr. Reckitt clearly discerns that he is practically cutting out a patch for himself, and he indicates the authors who ought to have preceded him. He makes honourable exceptions in favour of Professor Raven's *Christian Socialism*, 1848-54, Mr. Wagner's *The Church of England and Social Reform*, and Mr. Binyon's *The Christian Socialist Movement in England*. The first was published but eight years ago, and the last two were

published last year. Mr. Reckitt is, therefore, justly entitled to complain how little systematic thought has been bestowed upon the connexion between faith and the forms of social growth that faith inevitably produces. His own volume enters into the company of the three we have named above, and is fully worthy of a place among them. The only weakness in the book we discovered, at least in England, is that sufficient stress is not laid upon the past. In a new country like the United States, or at least the Far West, the past does not count for anything like so much as it does among us, but it does count among us, and a hundred and ten pages on our social history before 1914 is not adequate. No doubt the author will retort that he cannot do everything, and that he is mainly concerned with the last eighteen years. Within the limits he has laid down for himself, his book takes rank as authoritative. Perhaps the most stimulating section of his volume is that in which he assesses the worth of the social movements of this moment. He groups them under the heads of interdenominational, Anglo-Catholic, and Roman Catholic. His groupings are naturally not exhaustive, yet they are packed with information interpreted by illuminating comment.

The Chapters on the United States did not add much to our stock of ideas, and we certainly think it ought to be expanded in a future edition. In the last part of his book he sets forth the elements of a Christian Sociology for to-day. In the course of his exposition he apparently leans to the view that at no time since the fall of the Roman Empire has the world been more definitely leagued against the Church than at present. We freely grant that some signs indicate that this is so, but we frankly own that for every sign leaning in this direction we can at least discern another leading in quite the opposite direction. We can, if we like, live with Wordsworth if our trinity of virtues include admiration, hope and love. We can also, if we like, live with St. Paul if our trinity of virtues includes faith, hope, and love. It is conspicuous that both give hope a place, and why we do not hear much more about hope in the pulpit as well as in the press, we cannot divine. Fundamentally, the hope of Mr. Reckitt is unshaken, and his book lends us not a little help in maintaining that the trend of the social order is more optimistic than is sometimes imagined.

R. H. M.

Oxford Memories. By W. Lock. (Oxford University Press). 6*s*.

Oxford Sermons. By W. Lock. (Oxford University Press). 6*s*.

The work of Dr. Lock as Warden of Keble College, Canon of Christ Church, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, is known and read of all men. We have in our time met many men to whom he lectured, and they unanimously speak of the

debt they still owe to him. As one of them put it: "He taught—and still teaches me—to realise the implications of what I know" If other men appreciate the worth of his book, it is not a little pleasant to see that he, in his turn, can appreciate other scholars, and his *Oxford Memories* is almost entirely the appreciation of such men. The only possible fault we can notice is that these memories of each individual are all too short. We travel from Cardinal Newman to Archdeacon Johnson, for the author insists on the services of the little-known almost as much as he insists upon those of the well-known. Many will welcome a successor of this book—if only the character sketches were somewhat longer. Yet even in the shorter ones of, say, Herbert Trench, there is arresting matter. Take the attitude of a poet like Trench to our faith: "I think Christianity is for me a part of this comprehensive faith in God, in the soul, and in the vast and ceaseless aspiration of man which I steadfastly hold . . . I find, in my age, that high Anglicanism—which fears no growth of reason nor scepticism, leaves a door always open to the growing mind as well as to the young sense of beauty, society, of man—more nearly represents that general aspiration to God which is my symbolic faith than any other form which I understand."

Oxford Sermons give us much that is characteristic in the teaching of the author. They share the same fault of *Oxford Memories*, for they unduly err on the side of brevity. Notwithstanding, one of the most stimulating is that which concerns thoughts on old age. Dr. Lock asks the question, Have we in the Bible a book written by an old man? St. Paul's Epistle will not serve our turn, for the preacher thinks that "Paul the aged" is not a correct reading or translation, and he gives us, "Paul, always an ambassador for Christ, but now also a prisoner in his service." He allows that 2 Timothy will serve our turn, for it is admittedly the latest of St. Paul's preserved letters. He quotes the most striking saying on old age, and it is Madame de Stael's—*Quand une noble vie a préparé la vieillesse, ce n'est plus la décadence qu'elle rappelle, ce sont les premiers jours de l'immortalité.*

R.H.M.

The Stricken Lute. An Account of the Life of Peter Abelard. By R. B. Lloyd. (Lovat Dickson). 8*s.* 6*d.*

Abraham Lincoln once pronounced the *obiter dictum* that for those who like this sort of thing, this is the sort of thing they will like. Cruel as it may sound, we feel tempted to pronounce this verdict on Mr. Lloyd's performance. Those who care for the tragic love story of Abelard and Heloise will find much in these pages to their taste. No doubt the writer is warranted in employing his imagination upon so fascinating a theme, but we could wish that his imagination had been more disciplined. There is not only the lover: there is also the phil-

osopher who left the deepest mark upon the growth of thought, far more than he ever left upon the growth of the university conception upon which Mr. Lloyd lays stress. With all respect for the talents of the author we are definitely of the opinion that Abelard's contribution to eleventh century philosophy is outside his powers. We could wish that there was an exchange house where intending authors might see if others were engaged upon the task they are taking in hand, for at this very moment the Cambridge University Press have issued an ample account of Abelard the philosopher.

R.H.M.

The Things that are not Caesar's. By J. MARITAIN. (Sheed and Ward). 5*s.*

M. MARITAIN'S able book has been translated into English, and we are glad that it has been clearly translated, for it is a thoughtful investigation of the relationship of Church and State, written from a Roman Catholic angle. The appendices and notes are particularly helpful.

R.H.M.

The Catholic Faith. By PAUL ELMER MORE. (Humphrey Milford). 24*s.* net.

THIS is the second complementary volume to Mr. More's series on the Greek Tradition. The author's style is distinguished and his accuracy and care about *minutiæ* command admiration. The *Corrigenda* slip alone gives a glimpse of this. The reader is asked for *activity* to read *volition*, for *world* to read *sphere*, for *unescapable* to read *automatic*. We are reminded of Dr. Westcott, who is said on his death-bed to have ordered a correction in his final volume as follows: "For *probably* read *not improbably*."

The first chapter, consisting of 75 pages, gives an interesting and penetrating study of Buddhism and its bearing on Christianity. The conclusion is summed up in these words: "So, as I read the Buddhist books and am filled with admiring reverence for the Founder of the Dharma, it seems to me at times as if that great soul were searching on all the ways of the spirit for the dogma of the Incarnation, and that the fact of the historic Jesus, could it have been known to him, might have saved his religion in later ages from floundering helplessly, yet not ignobly, among the vanishing shadowy myths that so curiously resemble and multiply, while even just missing, the story of the Word made flesh." (p. 75).

The remaining chapters deal with the Creeds, the Eucharist, the Church and Mysticism. We can imagine no more genuine seeker after truth than Mr. More. Many of the opinions expressed are far

from being orthodox, yet he is steeped in the ethics of historic Catholicism, and one cannot help thinking that this book only represents one stage in his search for truth, and that much development in his thought may be looked for before he grows old. A passage on the Virgin Birth is a good example of his present attitude. Speaking of those who find difficulty in accepting this clause of the Creed as literally true, he writes: "I think that, if they will reflect more deeply on the divine significance of purity, and will remember how, not among Christians alone, but in many parts of the world and among many peoples, reverence for this virtue has passed into glorification of virginity, and if at the same time they will reflect on the beauty of motherhood—I think then they will understand how the myth (if myth it be) of the virgin mother could arise and how it could captivate the heart of mankind. Its beauty, its profound spiritual significance, may even lead them to modify their doubts of its literal truth." (p. 115).

The chapter on the Eucharist is the least impressive. It even contains one mistake in fact (an unusual lapse on the part of Mr. More) as he tells us that "the Christian Church dignified seven acts as sacraments in the particular sense that their administration belongs to those set apart as priests for this function." (p. 123.)

It is also dogmatically asserted that Baptism was certainly not instituted by Christ, which is either a quibble or a mis-statement, since the evidence for the Dominical institution of Baptism in the sense in which the Church understands it is good enough to satisfy scholars of international eminence. The chapter contains a merciless attack on the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation. An admittedly uncomfortable remark is quoted from the *Catholic Encyclopædia* to the effect that "according to the best-founded opinions not only the substance of Christ's Body, but by his own wise arrangement, its corporeal quantity, *i.e.* its full size, with its complete organization of integral members and limbs, is present within the diminutive limits of the Host and in each portion thereof." We may certainly be thankful that Anglicans are not compelled to interpret the doctrine of the Real Presence in the terms of the Aristotelian metaphysic; but at the same time we are convinced that the eucharistic teaching dominant among Roman Catholic scholars is not as crude as Mr. More supposes. His pages on the Eucharist in connexion with Platonism will be read with keen interest.

The criticism of Infallibility contained in the next chapter is admirable, and we whole-heartedly agree that "it would be hard to measure the anguish of the more enlightened children of Rome who, trying to introduce a view of inspiration possible of acceptance to modern scholarship, have suffered excommunication or surrendered their conscience to a silent and sullen obedience." (p. 190f).

The last chapter contains a weighty and considered criticism of

Christian Mysticism as "connected with a craving for intensity of experience at the cost of clarity and sanity." Even those who do not accept Mr. More's conclusions on the subject may agree that such writing is valuable in order to balance the fatuous sentimentalising which too frequently poses as Mysticism to-day.

Time given to studying Mr. More's works is never wasted, for his is in a real sense a master mind.

F.H.

The Rational Faith. By The Rev. Bede Frost, O.S.B. (Philip Allan). 3*s.* 6*d.*

This book is a verbatim report of a Mission preached at St. Augustine's, Queen's Gate. It has an introduction by the Vicar of that church, and at the end answers are given to some questions asked during the Mission, and there is a bibliography. The missioner is evidently well read, but his form of apologetic is not likely to appeal to most readers of the *Church Quarterly Review.* The books recommended are almost exclusively by Roman Catholics.

F.H.

Exorcism and the Healing of the Sick. By Reginald Maxwell Woolley, D.D. (S.P.C.K.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

The MS. of this scholarly essay was found after Dr. Woolley's death, and has been prepared for the press by Dr. Srawley and Dr. Lowther Clarke. It is published for the Church Historical Society. The subject is treated from the purely historical point of view, but the author has a thesis to develop. He attempts to show that what was originally only a charisma developed into a sacramental and finally into a sacrament, and he holds that no distinction can rightly be drawn between anointing and the laying on of hands. It may at once occur to the reader that the well-known passage in St. James' Epistle does not appear to refer to a charisma, but to one of the Church's regular ministrations. Dr. Woolley admits this, but explains it by saying that in St. James, "we have a local 'Judaising' practice which never obtained in the Church generally, until in the fifth century it provided an apparent apostolic authority for the sacramental anointing of the sick, the true precedents for which are Mark vi., 13, and xvi, 18." (p. 6). Students of this important and till lately neglected subject cannot afford to miss this book, whether they agree with its thesis or not.

F.H.

ERNST CASSIRER, *Die Platonische Renaissance in England und die Schule von Cambridge.* Studien der Bibliothek Warburg. No. xxiv. Leipsig and Berlin (Teubner), 1932. Unbound, 7 *marks.*

THIS valuable study of the thought of the Cambridge Platonists is a work such as might have been anticipated from the learned and philosophical author of *Das Erkenntnisproblem.* Professor Cassirer is concerned with them as religious philosophers rather than as theologians ; and, though he fully recognises the importance of the Calvinistic background against which the Cambridge School was a reaction, he is more interested in their philosophical than their theological affiliations. Their origin is traced back to the Platonic Academy at Florence in the Cinquecento, and their ancestry is then followed through Colet and Erasmus and More. Noteworthy is the author's thesis that the Cambridge School was a reaction against the empirical teaching of Francis Bacon no less than against the Puritan predestinarianism. In fact, the author considers both Puritanism and the philosophy of Bacon as the expression of a common outlook on the world.

Professor Cassirer also insists (as it seems to us, quite rightly) that the Cambridge Platonists and their precursors differed fundamentally from that side of the Mediaeval tradition which drew its inspiration from St. Augustine in their teaching on the doctrine of grace and free-will. The *ethos* of Plato and Origen and Erasmus can never be brought into harmony with that of Augustinianism. The investigation of this subject leads the author to an interesting discussion of the *ethos* of Spenser and of Shakespeare. In a concluding chapter he analyses the influence of the Cambridge Platonists, and draws out the nature of their influence upon Shaftesbury.

Theologians will regret that the author has not seen fit to trace also their influence in the realm of religion. The thought of Stillingfleet and Tillotson, and the typical theology of the Eighteenth Century, are probably directly traceable to the Cambridge Platonists. It is regrettable that a school of theologians, so noble in their beginnings, should have issued in such barren and arid teaching. But unless Liberalism in theology is accompanied by Sacramentalism in practice, history seems to show that there is little hope for the future of any form of liberal Christianity.

F.L.C

Whither Islam. A survey of modern movements in the Moslem World. Edited by H. A. R. GIBB, Professor of Arabic in the University of London. (London : Victor Gollanz Ltd.,) 15*s.* 384 pp. and map.

THIS is a book in which international scholarship tackles an international problem. It might almost be said an imperial problem, for how much of the Moslem world is left, when you have taken away those

sections which have political contact with France, Holland and Great Britain? It is no wonder therefore, that Professor Gibb should be collaborating in this volume (as in the "Forlong" lectures which gave rise to it) with Professor Berg of Leyden and Professor Massignon of Paris, while the Moslem problem in India has been in the hands of Lieut.-Colonel M. L. Ferrar, who writes from an experience of over 30 years. The chapter dealing with the heart of the Moslem world was entrusted to Professor Kampffmeyer of Berlin. We feel this chapter the weakest part of an interesting work. To relegate Turkey, at least, let alone Persia, to the position of "tag ends" to Western Asia and Egypt, will be a great disappointment to some readers. Surely Turkey might have been adequately dealt with by Professor Oestruf of Copenhagen or some other recognised authority. It is true that in the closing chapter the Editor gathers up a lot of threads, but even this treatment cannot suffice. We feel too that Professor Kampffmeyer has over-emphasised the importance of the "Association of Moslem Young Men" in Cairo: and, though his summing up of the situation from page 158 is valuable, we wonder whether, so far as missions are concerned, Professor Kampffmeyer is not as much behind the times as some of our Moslem friends are thought to be by the moderns. We can only ask whether the findings of the International Missionary Council of 1928 have come his way. We wonder too whether he and the Editor may not prove too sanguine over the collaboration of oriental Christians and Moslems to-day in "cultural renewal." These, however, are defects in a most useful survey. We should have liked twice as much of Professor Massignon, who writes with warning and insight on the problems in North Africa: while the essays on India and Indonesia are interesting and illuminating. Colonel Ferrar shows the extent of Indian Islam's debt to Ahmad Khan, and how the Moslem Minority in India fifty years ago had to go through somewhat of the same "humiliation process," as has come the way through other circumstances, of other Moslem groups. Professor Berg tells us that Indonesia, on the outskirts of the Moslem world, has been facing the same sort of Pan-Islamic and nationalist problems as the rest of the world of Islam. We are grateful for this information concerning a less known section of Islam. Certain words of the Professor might well be used *mutatis mutandis* of the whole Moslem world (pp 297-306)—words which all educators, official and missionary, would do well to ponder. In his Introduction the Editor reveals the geographical extent of the Moslem world and traces the tendencies that have made for decentralisation, while in the last essay he calls attention to certain salient features; as that apparently the great Moslem masses are unaffected as yet by Western religious influences, though evolution in thought on the part of scattered groups has been evident for many years. How again is the conservative spirit in Islam ultimately going to deal with the modernist? Are the old schisms going to be healed?

What do "Europe" and "India" mean in Islam to-day? This after all, is a question for Europe as well as Islam—and so for the Christian Church. We thank the successor of Sir Thomas Arnold for gathering together for us a Professorial panorama.

E.F.F.B.

The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development. By A. J. Wensinck, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden. (Cambridge University Press). Pages viii and 304.

This is a great book and fills a real gap. The author tells us that it is designed to supply "the want of a comprehensive study of the historical development of Muslim dogmatics." When it is Professor Wensinck who supplies the need, we are not disappointed. The man who has put his hand to the systematization of Muslim Tradition speaks with true authority.

After an introductory chapter in which he shews that the Kuran (we should have liked to read Qur'an) does not actually supply a creed for Islam, nor can any genuine saying of Muhammad be unearthed from the traditions in regard to Islamic tenets, the author devotes the next four chapters to his comprehensive survey, dealing in turn with the "Pillars of Islam"; Faith, Works and Will; God and the World, and The Crisis of Islam and its Outcome. There is a thorough examination into the "key words" of Islam and their origin. It is interesting to note in this case that there is "traditional" ground for refusing "holy war" a "place in the summary duties of Islam" (page 27). We are introduced to the difference between *Islam* and *Iman* both in the initial stages of development and through the rise of the *Kharidjites*, who seem to have regarded as in the infidel camp all who did not share their own particular views on religion and other matters. These people were the Donatists of Islam.

The next chapter introduces us to the still more interesting Mu'tazilites, who taught freedom of the will and rejected the anthropomorphism of the Orthodox as well as the doctrine of the uncreated word of God. For better or for worse the Mu'tazilites came but they did not stay. The orthodox reaction was more than temporary, and in its ninth century dress was largely due to Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who was not only orthodox but saintly. Professor Wensinck says that in him rested the spirit of ancient Islam during the rationalistic crisis. After him came al Ash'ari who left an indelible mark on the theology of Islam, but that his position became paramount in the east was due still more to a man still greater, al Ghazali, who was not only one of the most skilful of Muslim divines, but one who was vouchsafed the most definite spiritual experiences. In him the mystic and dogmatist met. The appearance of varying view points in Islam as in Christianity laid on the community as a whole the obligation of defining their

standpoint. The original *sh*ahada was a confession of personal faith, but what was being hammered out through the work of al A*sh*'ari and al Ghazali and others was the Creed of the whole community, which became necessary in view of heterodox opinions. It will not be hard to compare the rise of credal statements in the history of the Christian Church ; while we shall find the further similarity between the Eastern Church and Islam in that formularies of this nature are usually couched in the first person plural. Professor Wensinck gives examples of these "Articles of Religion" in chapters vi, vii, and viii ; while in the last chapters he devotes himself to the later developments in the Muslim Creed. "Apart from isolated efforts, the development of Muslim dogmatics, from the age of al A*sh*'ari to the present day follows a course which can be characterized as that of a growing intellectualism. . . . Allah is no longer the God of the Qur'an, of the pious ancestors and of man's own religious experience ; he is a logical deduction from the existence of the Universe." "This train of thought is also the quintessence of the philosophy of medieval Christianity. It adds a new proof of the existence of God to the so-called cosmological one." If God has existence, he must also have essence.

There is a full list of citations from the Qur'an and also four pages of references. This is a book which no student of Islam can dispense with and we look forward because of it to the publication of the great work on which Professor Wensinck is engaged.

E.F.F.B.

A Brief Doctrinal Commentary on the Arabic Koran. By Frank Hugh Foster. London : The Sheldon Press. Pages viii-84. 3*s*.

A compendious little work which will help to straighten out for students the development in Muhammad's theological thought through a "combing out" of the suras, which are dealt with chronologically. Attention is called to the key words as they occur. There is a special chapter on ethics. Arabic words and phrases are given in the text but this does not prevent those unacquainted with Arabic from getting help from the booklet. There are occasional comparisons drawn between the Qur'an and the Scriptures and the Fathers (pp. 5, 27), while the author draws attention to possible echoes of the Nicene Creed (pp. 55, 63). Not the least valuable parts of the work are the suggestions and generalisations of the author (pp. 5, 22, 27, 52). He combines criticism with understanding. We are sorry for the misprints in the Arabic ; and if we can have *Qur'an*, why not *Qibla* ; and surely *Iblis* consistently or *Eblis*, and preferably the former ? And is the *Amadiah* sect better than the *Ahmadiah* ? We hope that the little book will have as good a sale as it deserves.

E.F.F.B.

He That Cometh. By GEOFFREY ALLEN. (Alexander Maclehose & Co. 1932).

He That Cometh is a contribution to the nascent literature of the Oxford Groups Movement. The reviewer has had no personal contact with the Movement. His criticisms are therefore criticisms of the book without any attempt to judge how far it fairly represents the Movement from which it sprang. It would indeed seem antecedently improbable that the majority of adherents should be so directly and consciously as is the author under the influence of Barth, who represents the anti-humanist element in Continental Protestantism in its most rigorous form.

The reader will not be disposed to challenge Mr. Allen's claim to have undergone conversion, or the genuineness of his attempt to live the converted life in accordance with the procedure of the Groups. He is filled with tense religious enthusiasm. That this enthusiasm seems strangely breathless and panting may equally well be due to a defect of literary style as to an hysterical quality of spiritual life.

My criticism is of a different character. As early as p. 26 Mr. Allen informs us that "as the Spirit of Truth led me forward to read and read again the records of the early Church, the conviction became ever more clear that Christendom had fallen back into Judaism, and that nine-tenths of Christian thought and practice were merely Pharisaism in a new dress." As I read further I became convinced that for this adherent of the Groups the residual tenth of genuine Christianity was represented by those who availed themselves of the full devotional apparatus of the sect—the insistence on the early morning as the best time for prayer and meditation, which might have been advocated more modestly by those who have hitherto suspected this traditional Christian practice as a relic of Popery ; the inculcation of mutual public confession (apparently repeated at intervals) as an essential sign of true religion ; even the paper and pencil for jotting down reflections during prayer, which bid fair to become a sacrament generally necessary for salvation. After this it is not surprising to find the author in his final chapter equating the Groups with the true Church. "It is individual laymen and ministers"—who, from the context, are adherents—"in whose voices the voice of the Church is incarnate." (p. 217.)

Mr. Allen will brook no criticism. This is the new Pentecost. Let those who denounce public confession prove the sincerity of their denunciation by joining in it ! "We shall accept approval only from those who share with us their sins," (p. 183). To those who question the psychological effects of the Movement is given, stripped of its sophistries, the answer : What does it matter if the Groups drive some men mad ? (see pages 52 and 53).

The Preface tells us that "as a mark of gratitude, the usual author's royalties for this book will be given to their (*i.e.*, the members of the

Groups) work of Christian Evangelism." Indeed throughout the book Mr. Allen shows no desire to conceal from his left hand what his right hand is doing. If he has learned zeal from the "New Oxford Movement," he has yet to discover the meaning of humility from the fathers of the Old. Should this book indeed prove to reflect the temper of the Groups, it would be the urgent duty of the Church not to co-operate with them, but to call its own children to a spiritual life equally vivid but also in temper more Christian.

P.U.

Christ our Brother. By KARL ADAM. (Sheed and Ward). 5*s.*

THERE is at least enough truth in the widely-made accusation that popular religious thought is Monophysite in character to make Dr. Adam's book timely and important. Dr. Adam is indubitably loyal to traditional orthodoxy and it is from that standpoint that he emphasizes the humanity of Christ, and traces so fully the implications of that fact.

It is possible to appreciate the constructive teaching of the book without endorsing the author's sweeping condemnation of Byzantine and Slav Christianity. The publication of this cheaper edition brings the book within reach of a large circle of simple Christians who could derive much profit from reading it.

P.U.

Ceremonies at the Holy Places. By H. C. LUKE. (The Faith Press). Cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.* ; paper, 1*s.* 6*d.*

COMMANDER LUKE was among the most distinguished of the brilliant group of British officials who served in the Palestine Administration after the War. He has here collected various papers published in different periodicals concerning the history and the ceremonies of the Holy Places. They are characterized by the author's scholarship, literary talent, and imaginative sympathy. The book should form an indispensable part of the library of those who visit the Holy Land.

P.U.

Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1933. (S.P.C.K.). 3*s.* 6*d.*

THIS is an indispensable book of reference for all who are in any way connected with ecclesiastical administration. The new volume contains an important article on the work of the Cathedrals Commission, and an essay on the Oxford Movement Centenary from the scholarly pen of Dr. Sparrow Simpson.

P.U.

The Modern Dilemma. By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. (Sheed and Ward). 2*s.* 6*d.*

MR. DAWSON is one of the most important religious thinkers of our time, and certainly the most deserving of attention among English Roman Catholic publicists. This essay is concerned with the peril to European civilization of exclusive nationalism. The League of Nations is an inadequate preservative because there is no common spiritual tradition and inheritance among its component members. The Christian nations can only survive if they will concentrate on the unitive spiritual forces of their common inheritance. During the last centuries Christendom has been living on its inherited spiritual capital. This process leads to progressive decay. European civilization will be preserved in so far as men adhere to the practice of religion for its own sake, and not for its indirect cultural benefits. We have here the fundamental paradox of Christianity, true alike of men and nations—"Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: but whosoever will love his life for my sake the same shall save it." Like all Mr. Dawson's work this essay is written with a sobriety and restraint which add greatly to the convincing quality of the argument.

P.U.

Periodicals.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. XXXIII. No. 132. July, 1932. Milford). Right Rev. W. H. Frere: Frank Edward Brightman (with Note by J. F. B[ethune]-B[aker]). I. W. Slotki: The Song of Deborah. W. Emery Barnes: A Taunt-Song in Gen. xlix, 20, 21. S. H. Thomson: John Wyclif's 'Lost' *De Fide Sacramentorum.* [Text printed from MS. Trin. Coll., Camb. B. 14, 50]. R. E. Balfour: Note on the History of the Breviary in France. F. C. Burkitt: Justin Martyr and Jeremiah xi, 19. W. Emery Barnes: Hebrew Metre and the Text of the Psalms. H. J. Rose: Pseudo-Clement and Ovid. A. L. Williams: Antijudaica—Three Questions [On Migne *P.G.* lxxxix, 1248 B 'Bizes'; *P.L.* xlii, 1134, 'Officina'; *P.L.* cxvi, 168, 'Ussum Hamizri.']. A. D. Lindsay: Oman, 'The Natural and the Supernatural.' (3½ pp.) H. F. Stuart: Whitley (ed.) 'The Doctrine of Grace.' (4½ pp.) E. J. Thomas: Seeberg 'Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, III. Die Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters, 4 Aufl.'; Kirfel 'Bharatavarsa (Indien).' A. C. Bouquet: Troeltsch 'The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches' [E.T.]; Macintosh (ed.) 'Religious Realism.' A. E. Brooke: Colwell 'The Greek of the Fourth Gospel' (critical). F. C. Burkitt: Ardill 'St. Patrick, A.D. 180.' (4¼ p.p.). Thompson 'Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect' (3½ pp.). J. P. Whitney: Butler 'The Vatican Council'; Von Hügel 'Notes on the Petrine Claims'; Van Sull 'Leonard Lessius (1554-1623)'; Guiraud 'The Inquisition' (critical); Poschmann 'Die Abendländische Kirchenbusse im frühen Mittelalter' (favourable); Schweizer 'Le Cardinal Louis de Lapalud et son procès pour la possession du siège épiscopal de Lausanne' (favourable); Caspar 'Geschichte des Papsttums, I'; Wallis 'History of the Church in Blackburnshire' ('really good'). E. W. Watson: Whiting 'Studies in English Puritanism' ('laborious and valuable'); Laube 'Reformation u. Humanismus in England' ('of quite exceptional interest.') W. H. V. Reade: Xiberta 'De Scriptoribus Scholasticis Saeculi XIV ex Ordine Carmelitarum.' A. Souter: 'Miscellanea Agostiniana'; Gibson 'Introduction à l'Etude de S. Augustin'; Wilmart 'Remarques sur plusieurs collections des Sermons de S. Augustine' and 'La collection tripartite des Sermons de S. Augustin'; 'Acta Hebdomadæ Augustinianæ-Thomisticæ (Romæ 23-30 Aprilis 1930)'; Staritz 'Augustins Schöpfungsglaube'; Ussani 'Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri V.' H. Loewe: Mann 'Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature' ('important'); Levy 'Introduction to the Sociology of Islam, I'; Arnold and Guillaume (edd.) 'The Legacy of Islam' (4 pp.). A. L. Williams: Lagrange 'Le Judaisme avant Jésus-Christ'. G. R. Driver: Junker 'Untersuchungen über. . . . Probleme des Buches Daniel.' J. F. B[ethune]-B[aker]: Riddle 'The Martyrs—A Study in Social Control' (critical); C. F. Andrews 'What I owe to Christ.' F. S. Marsh: V. Rad 'Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes.'

The Churchman (Vol. XLVI. No. 4. October, 1932. London, E.C.4: Dean Wace House). Ven. W. L. P. Cox: The Christian Discipline of the Understanding.' J. P. S. R. Gibson: The Holy Spirit. T. C. Hammond: The Receptionist Doctrine of Aquinas. H. Smith: "This is My Body." A. J. Macdonald: The Clergy and the New Housing Schemes. C. C. Dobson: The Founding of the Church of Rome. F. R. M. Hitchcock: Two Saints: St. Augustine, St. Patrick, A Comparison. Mott 'Liberating the Lay Forces

of Christianity.' Baker 'Justinian' (laudatory). Albertson 'Lyra Mystica.' Bett 'Nicholas of Cusa.'' Hartmann 'Ethics.' Tollinton 'Alexandrine Teaching on the Universe.' Long 'Churches with a Story.' Valentine 'Moral Freedom and the Christian Faith.' Radhakrishnan 'An Idealistic View of Life.' Arpee 'The Atonement in Experience,' Gribble 'Problem of the Australian Aboriginal.' Johnstone 'Samuel Marsden.' S. L. Brown 'Hosea.' Oliver 'Pastoral Psychiatry and Mental Health' (critical).

The Dublin Review (No. 383. October, 1932. Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd.). W. E. Orchard: The Other Sheep. M. Carmichael: The Utopia. J. Lambkin: Haydn (1732-1932). J. A. O'Connor: The Sociological Aspects of Medico-moral Problems. C. Roth: Jews, Conversos, and the Blood-Accusation in XVth Century Spain. [Reviews Walsh 'Isabella of Spain']. W. T. Walsh: A Reply to Dr. Cecil Roth. M. Belgion: The Values of Contemporary Apologetics—A Symposium, V [with Note by the Editor]. Lord Rankeillour: Some Handicaps of the Church. C. Dawson: Gougaud 'Christianity in Celtic Lands.' Most Rev. A. Goodier, S.J.: May 'Father Tyrrell and the Modernist Movement (5 pp.) E. Beck: Ponnelle and Bordet 'St. Philip Neri (1515-95)'. H. O. Evennett: Camm 'Nine Martyr Monks.' Bryant 'King Charles II.' Bremond 'Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France, IX-X.' Plus 'Consummata, Marie Antoinette de Geuser.' Osuna 'The Third Spiritual Alphabet.' Flitch 'Angelus Silesius.' H. R. Williams: Lion 'The Idealistic Conception of Religion.' M. Belgion: J. B. S. Haldane 'The Causes of Evolution.' E. I. W[atkin]: Webb 'John of Salisbury.' Kiernan 'Little Brother goes Soldiering.'

The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (Vol. IX. No. 3. September-October, 1932. Toronto: 73, Queen's Park). W. F. Lofthouse: Methodist Union in Great Britain. W. R. Taylor: The Jews and the Church. G. G. D. Kilpatrick: The Preparation of the Message. J. F. Mackinnon: 'Formgeschichte' and the Synoptic Problem. Present Position. K. H. Cousland: Christian Biography. A Study in Values. F. T. H. Fletcher: Pre-existence in Myth and Poetry. H. Mick: Conditions of a Religion's Success in the Roman Empire. E. A. Dale: Gray 'Finding God' ('of great value'). J. M. Shaw: Griffiths 'God in Idea and Experience' (laudatory). G. B. King: Strack 'Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash.' J. Line: R. M. Jones 'A Preface to Christian Faith in a New Age.' R. Davidson: Peake 'The Servant of Yahweh'; Arnold and Guillaume 'The Legacy of Islam.' K. H. Cousland: Webb 'John of Salisbury'; Bett 'Nicolas of Cusa.'

The Journal of Religion (Vol. XII. No. 4. October, 1932. Chicago University Press). D. G. E. Hall: Felix Carey. L. C. Barnes: George Washington and Freedom of Conscience (34 pp.). C. Manshardt: What will succeed Religious Imperialism?' E. S. Brightman: A Temporalist View of God. W. H. Bernhardt: The Significance of the Changing Function of Religion. W. C. Graham: Torrey 'Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy.' R. J. Hutcheon: Otto 'Mysticism East and West.' A. S. Woodburne: Jones 'A Preface to Christian Faith,' J. S. Bixter: Griffiths 'God in Idea and Experience.' S. G. Cole: Macintosh (ed.) 'Religious Realism.' S. Mathews: McGiffert 'History of Christian Thought, I.'

Laudate (Vol. X. No. 39. September, 1932. Burnham, Bucks: Nashdom Abbey). Abbot of Pershore: Ascetical Theology and the Anglo-Catholic Movement. E. M. Bicknell: The Abbaye de la Grasse. W. S. Porter: Early Spanish Monasticism, III. Fructuosus of Braga. The XII Apostles and the Gentiles (*concluded*). J. A. MacCulloch: Gougaud 'Christianity in Celtic Lands.' J. K. Mozley: Whitley (ed.) 'The Doctrine of Grace.' W. Knox: Burkitt 'The Church and Gnosis.' H. C. Bell: Brooke 'The English Church and the Papacy.' C. E. Faithful: Whittaker 'Pro-

legomena to a New Metaphysic'; Mackenzie 'Cosmic Problems.' Dunlop 'Processions; Gore 'The School of Jesus Christ.' Robertson 'A New Short Grammar of the Greek Testament.'

The Baptist Quarterly (Vol. VI. No. 4. October, 1932: London, W.C.1: 4, Southampton Row). A. W. Harrison: The Story of Methodist Union. J. B. Lewis: Toc H (Talbot House). A. C. Underwood: The Place of Conversion in Christian Experience. H. M. Page: Men's Firesides. F. Beckwith: The Early Church at Leeds, IV. F. G. Hastings and W. T. Whitley: Calendar of Letters, 1742-1831, collected by Isaac Mann, A.M. [In the National Library of Wales]. S. J. Price: Jordan 'Development of Religious Toleration in England.' Dibdin 'Establishment in England.' McLachlan 'Alexander Gordon.'

The Quarterly Review (No. 514. October, 1932. John Murray). Marquess of Crewe: Mr. Gladstone. D. Gordon: Feud and Friendship in the Animal World. B. D. Nicholson: A Map for Civilisation. I. Phayre: The British Press and the United States. A. T. Sheppard: The Historical Novel. E. Haldane: Scottish Family Life in the Seventies. Disarmament: the Naval Aspect. Major-Gen. Sir C. Gwynn: Disarmament. The Army and the Air Force. J. G. Noppen: The Care of Westminster Abbey. S. Gwynn: Samuel Richardson. The Creation of Peace. G. McL. Harper: Scott's Novels, An American View. World Reconstruction in 1933. Neff 'Carlyle.' Clark 'The Mesolithic Age in Britain.' Taylor 'Sir Bertram Windle.' Dover Wilson 'The Essential Shakespeare' (critical).

The English Historical Review (Vol. XLVII. No. 188. October, 1932. Longmans). G. Lapsley: Buzones, II. A. G. Little: Chronological Notes on the Life of Duns Scotus. B. J. H. Rowe: John Duke of Bedford and the Norman 'Brigands.' A. F. Fremantle: The Truth about Oliver the Spy. J. M. Thompson: Albert Mathiez. G. H. Wheeler: Textual Errors in the Itinerary of Antoninus, II. C. R. Cheney: Letters of Wm. Wickwane, Chancellor of York, 1266-8. K. Feiling: Henrietta Stuart, Duchess of Orleans, and the Origins of the Treaty of Dover. D. H. Somerville: Shrewsbury and the Peace of Utrecht. W. B. Kerr: The Stamp Act in Quebec. J. L. Myres: County Archæologies. Berkshire (H. Peake), Somerset (D. P. Dobson), Surrey (D. C. Whimster). J. H. Clapham: Bloch 'Les Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française' ('a contribution of the first importance to the general economic history of Western Europe'). C. Johnson: Stenton 'The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166.' J. Tait: Veale 'The Great Red Book of Bristol, I.' F. M. Powicke: Sabatier 'Le Speculum Perfectionis, II.' E. C. Lodge: Delachenal 'Histoire de Charles V, Vol. IV-V.' E. G. R. Taylor: Buron 'Ymago Mundi de Pierre d'Ailly.' C. Foligno: Previté-Orton 'Opera hactenus inedita T. Livii de Frulovisiis de Ferraria.' E. R. Adair: Kittredge 'Witchcraft in Old and New England.' E. W. Watson: Elias 'Kerk en Staat en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1598-1621): H. H. Bellot: Namier 'England in the Age of the American Revolution'; Burnett 'Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, IV-V (1779-81).' Sir H. W. Richmond: 'Correspondence of General Washington and Comte de Grasse.' W. L. Mathieson: Furber 'Henry Dundas, 1742-1811.' C. S. Phillips: Maurain 'La Politique ecclésiastique du Second Empire de 1852 à 1869' and 'Le Saint-Siège et la France, 1851-3. Documents inédits.' ('of outstanding importance'). Sir G. Hurst: Buckle 'Letters of Q. Victoria, 1891-5.' R. B. Mowat: 'Memoirs of Prince von Bülow, I-II.' (4 pp.). V. H. G[albraith]: Fowler 'Cartulary of Old Warden.' W. H. V. R[eade]: Wingate 'Medieval Latin Versions of the Aristotelian Scientific Corpus.' H. H. E. C[raster]: Allen

'English Writings of Richard Rolle.' Cameron 'The Warrender Papers.' Bryant 'Charles II.'

Theology (Vol. XXV. No. 147. September, 1932. S.P.C.K.). A. A. Cock : Some Aspects of the Psychology of Conversion, II. N. Arseniev : Union between the Orthodox and the Anglican Churches. J. R. Towers : Selah. B. M. Hancock : " To hear His most holy Word." Considerations for Curates. A. E. Morris : Temperance or Total Abstinence ? Very Rev. E. G. Selwyn : Bevan 'Christianity.' A. Lunn : J. B. S. Haldane 'The Causes of Evolution' ; Dawson 'The Making of Europe.' H. Northcott : Harton 'The Elements of the Spiritual Life.' E. Milner-White : Pornelle and Bordet 'St. Philip Neri.' F. P. Harton : Otto 'Mysticism East and West.' W. K. Lowther Clarke : Box 'Judaism in the Greek Period' ('the most useful short book on the Bible published for some years'). W. Telfer : Burkitt 'Church and Gnosis.' M. Howse : Plus 'Marriage.' T. Jallaud : Coulton 'Papal Infallibility.' C. B. Moss : Lawlor 'The Reformation and the Irish Episcopate.' A. Tillyard : Flitch 'Angelus Silesius.'

The Expository Times (Vol. XLIII. No. 12. Vol. XLIV. No. 1. September-October, 1932. T. and T. Clarke) J. K. Mozley : The Barthian School, V. Emil Brunner. R. B. Lloyd : The Word 'Glory' in the Fourth Gospel. A. H. Gray : The Student Christian Movement. J. H. Michael : The Close of the Galilean Ministry. Dawson 'The Bible confirmed by Science.' Wrigley 'The O.T. in the Light of Modern Scholarship.' Macnaughton 'A Scheme of Egyptian Chronology.' Peers 'St. John of the Cross.' Sparrow Simpson 'The Anglo-Catholic Revival from 1845.' MacDonald 'The Position of Women . . in Semitic Codes of Law.' Russell 'For Sinners Only.' October. W. Axling : The Kingdom of God Movement in Japan. Ven. A. E. J. Rawlinson : In Spirit and in Truth. An Exposition of St. John iv, 16-24. A. E. Garvie : Christological Notes. J. S. MacArthur : The Rationalization of Preaching. A. G. Paisley : The Function of Religious Experience in Biblical Criticism. J. Moffatt : Baumgarten 'Protestantische Seelsorge.' A. J. Gossip : Goguel 'Vie de Jésus.' J. E. McFadyen : Buber 'Königtum Gottes.' Robinson and Oesterley 'History of Israel.' More 'Christian Mysticism.' Heiler 'Prayer.' Albertson (ed.) 'Lyra Mystica.'

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XXII. No. 4. Vol. XXIII. Nos. 1-2. April-October, 1932. Macmillan). E. Ginzberg : Studies in the Economics of the Bible. W. F. Albright : Recent Works on the Topography and Archæology of Jerusalem. D. S. Sassoon : Davidson's Thesaurus of Hebrew Poetry, III. E. I. Nathan : History of the Mussulmans in Sicily. A. Simon : The Religion of a Modern Liberal. Schaeder 'Esra der Schreiber' Lôfgren 'Die Aethiopische Uebersetzung des Propheten Daniel.' Strack 'Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash.' J. Eitan : A Correction . July. S. L. Skoss : A Chapter on Permutation in Hebrew from David Ben Abraham Al-Fasi's Dictionary 'Jami'Al-Alfaz.' S. Zeitlin : The Am Haarez. A Study in the Social and Economic Life of the Jews before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple. N. S. Doniach : Abraham Bédersi's Purim Letter to David Kaslari. W. Rosenan : 'Moses Mielziner, 1828-1903' ; Kohler 'Studies.' G. A. Barton : Poebel 'The Sumerian Prefix Forms E- and I-' ; Macnaughton 'Scheme of Babylonian Chronology' ('a curiosity'). A. S. B. Mercer : Coulbeaux 'Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie, I-III.' I. Baroway : Fletcher 'Milton's Rabbinical Readings.' Gunkel 'Die Psalmen.' October. G. H. Box : The Idea of Intermediation in Jewish Theology. C. Roth : Immanuel Aboab's Proselytization of the Marranos. R. Gottheil : A Genizah Fragment of a Treatise of the

Sciences. N. Bentwich : Of Jews and Hebraism in the Greek Anthology. M. H. Farbridge : Bett 'Studies in Religion' ; Usener 'Götternamen.' S. S. Cohon : McCabe 'The Story of Religious Controversy.' J. Finkel : Winkler 'Siegel u. Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei.' A. M. Friedenberg : Two German Jewish Families. J. A. Montgomery : The Etymology of 'Demai.'

Revue d'Historie Ecclesiastique (Vol. XXVIII. No. 4. October, 1932. Louvain : 40, rue de Namur). A. Dondeyne : La Discipline des Scrutins dans l'église latine avant Charlemagne, II.' J. Cottiaux : La Conception de la Théologie chez Abélard, II. J. de Ghellinck : Les 'Opera dubia vel spuria' attribués à Pierre Lombard. L. Cerfaux : Tillmann 'Das Johannesevangelium.' R. Koerperich : Fuchs 'Der Ordinationstitel bis auf Innocenz, III.' L. T. Lefort : Oppenheim 'Das Mönchskleid im christlichen Altertum' and 'Symbolik u. religiöse Wertung das Mönchskleides.' J. Zeitler : Baynes 'Constantine the Great and the Christian Church.' J. Laenen : Stracke 'Over Bekeering en Doopsel van Chlodovech.' R. Maere : Braun 'Das christliche Altargerät' (5 pp.). L. Gougaud : Wissig 'Iroschotten u. Bonifatius in Deutschland.' Duke 'The Columban Church' ; Borenius 'St. Thomas Becket in Art.' R. Maere : Neuss 'Die Apocalypse . . . Das Problem der Beatus-Handschriften.' P. Groult : Martin-Chabot 'La Chanson de Guillaume de Tudèle' ; Bruneau 'La Chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles, II.' A. Leman : Dedouvres 'Le Père Joseph de Paris, capucin. L'Eminence grise.' (3½ pp.). R. Kremer : Cassirer 'Die platonische Renaissance in England u. die Schule von Cambridge.'

Analecta Bollandiana (Vol. L., Nos. III-IV. 1932. Brussells : 24, Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. Delahaye : (1) S. Romain Martyr d'Antioche ; (2) S. Bassus évêque martyr honoré à Nice. M. Coens : Un Miracle posthume de S. Martin à Chablis. B. de Gaiffier : L'Office de S. Julien de Rimini. P. Grosjean : S. Patricius in monte Cruachan Aighle. P. Peeters : Un Colophon géorgien de Thornik le moine. H. D[elehaye] : Ehrhard 'Die Kirche der Märtyrer.' (laudatory) ; Herzog 'Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros' ; Ussani 'Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiæ libri V' ; Andrieu 'Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge, I' ; De Puniet 'Le Pontifical Romain' ; Frere 'Studies in Early Roman Liturgy, I' ; Baynes 'Constantine the Great' (laudatory) ; Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, I-III' ; Braun Das christliche Altargerät' ; Vasilier 'Historie de l' Empire Byzantin, I-II.' P. P[eeters] : Schwartz 'Concilium Universale Chalcedoneuse, II' ; 'Miscellanea Agostiniana, ' ; Buckler 'Harûnu 'l-Rashid and Charles the Great.' P. Grosjean : Finsterwalder 'Die Caumes Theodori Cantuarieusis' : Seymour 'Irish Visions of the Other-World' (4 pp.) ; Goodwin 'The Abbey of St. Edmundsbury.' B. de Gaiffier : Schnürer 'Kirche u. Kultur im Mittelalter, III' ; Fischer 'Geschichte der Entdeckung der deutschen Mystiker Eckhart, Tauler u. Seuse' ; Stasiewski 'Der Heilige Bernardin von Siener.' P. Grosjean : Allen 'English Writings of Richard Rolle' ; Collijn 'Acta et Processus canonizacionis Beate Birgitte.' H. D[elehaye) : Dawkins 'Makhairas, Recital concerning . . . Cyprus.' Mâle 'L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente' ; Borenius 'St. Thomas Becket in Art.' P. P[eeters] Schubhammer 'Die zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens' : B. de Gaiffier : Pastor 'Geschichte der Päpste, XIV.'

Teologisk Tidsskrift (V. 3. 1932. Copenhagen : G.E.C. Gad). L. J. Koch : Forskelligt om. H. A. Brorson. A. Bentgen : "De Stille i Landet." J. Helgason : Islands Kirkeliv i 1930-31. E. Grismar : Hirsch 'Schöpfung u. Sünde' V. Lindegaard-Petersen : D'Aygalliers 'Un Homme.' W. Balslev : Lehmann 'Grundtvig.' F. Torm : Teologi og Kirkeliv.

Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift (Vol. XXII. No. 3. July-September, 1932. Bern : Stampfli & Cie.). S. Bulgakow : Die Verwandlungslehre

im eucharistischen Dogma der orthodoxen Kirke des Morgenlandes. J. P. Ilic : Zur Frage des Religionsunterrichts in den serbischen Schulen. G. Hollenbach : Stimmen aus dem Orient zür päpstlichen Enzyklika 'Lux veritatis.' Kirchliche Chronik.

Africa (Vol. V. No. 4. October, 1932. Milford). F. Krause : Ethnology and the Study of Culture Change. L. M. Spagnolo : Some Notes of the Initiation of Young Men and Girls in the Bari Tribe. J. H. Driberg : The Status of Women among the Nilotics and Nilo-Hamitics. L. N. Reed : Notes on some Fulani Tribes and Customs. W. H. Hoffmann : Leprosy and the Cultural Development of Africa. F. R. Irvine : The Teaching of Agriculture in W. Africa. M. Wrong and D. G. Brackett : Notes on Nature Study and Agricultural Text-books used in Africa. D. Westermann : Rattray 'The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland.' B. Seligman : Richards 'Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe' [S. Bantu). H. Labourib : Lévy-Bruhl 'Le Surnaturel et la Nature dans la Mentalité Primitive.' S. Knak : Schlunk (ed.) 'Botschafter an Christi Statt.' P. Sheldon : Ratcliffe and Elphinstone 'Modern Swahili.'

International Review of Missions (Vol. XXI. No. 84. October, 1932. Milford). Bishop of Dornakal : The Caste Movement in S. India. E. R. Hughes : Problems for Christians arising out of the Shanghai War. G. E. Phillips : Christian Expectancy and the Missionary Crisis. W. Paton : Herrnhut. A. Jeffery : Three Cairo Modernists. A. V. Murray : A. Missionary Educational Policy for Southern Nigeria. K. S. Latourette : Research and Christian Missions. R. Allier : The Social Outreach of Protestant Missions. N. Jones : Training Native Women in Community Service in S. Rhodesia. H. Frick : Otto 'Das Gefühl des Ueberweltlichen' and 'Sünde u. Urschuld.' N. Macnicol : Schomeras 'Buddha u. Christus' : Shah 'Jainism in N. India (800 B.C.-A.D. 526).' G. Brackenbury : Strothmann 'Die Koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit.' E. R. Hughes : Curtis 'The Capital Question of China.' W. E. L. Sweet : Mott 'Liberating the Lay Forces of Christianity.'

The Church Overseas (Vol. V. No. 20. October, 1932. Church House, Westminster, S.W.1.). Bishop of Willesden : The Mission of Fellowship from India. A. W. Davies : The Programme of the Missionary Council. Hopes and Fears. J. Levo : The Angel at the Gate. G. N. Hall : Worship and the Indian Church. Bp. in Argentina : Buenos Aires. E. N. Aidin : Persian Womanhood. Its Problems. News from the Dioceses. Quarterly Survey. H. U. W. Stanton : Schlunk (ed.) 'Botschaften an Christi Statt.' R. Rouse : Mott 'Liberating the Lay Forces of Christianity.' C. A. Alington : Garlick 'Pioneers of the Kingdom, I.' W. E. Soothill : Saunders 'The Heritage of Asia.'

Books Received.

I. Biblical.

Klein, F.—*Jesus and His Apostles*, 363 pp. (Longmans.) 10*s.* 6*d.*

Birmingham, G. A.—*Wisdom Book*, 156 pp. (Benn). 3*s.* 6*d.* See Review.

Macfadyen, J. E.—*Introduction to the Old Testament* (New Ed.), 400pp. (Hodder and Stoughton). 7*s.* 6*d.*

II. Historical.

Lloyd, R. B.—*The Stricken Lute*, 221 pp. (Lovat Dickson). 8*s.* 6*d.* See Review.

Burton, O. E.—*A Study in Creative History*, 320 pp. (Allen & Unwin). 10*s.* 6*d.*

BRUNO, FR.—*St. John of the Cross*, 495 pp. (Sheed & Ward). 18*s*. See Review.

TELFER, W.—*The Treasure of São Roque*, 222 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 8*s*. 6*d*.

BOUQUET, A. C.—*Phases of the Christian Church*, 150 pp. (Heffer). 4*s*.

EDEN, G. R. and MACDONALD, F. C.—*Lightfoot of Durham*, 192 pp. (Cambridge Univ. Press). 7*s*. 6*d*.

CLARKE, C. P. S.—*The Oxford Movement and After*, 316pp. (Mowbray). 8*s*. 6*d*.

BRISCOE, J. F., and MACKAY, H. F. B.—*A Tractarian at Work*, 211 pp. (Mowbray). 10*s*. 6*d*.

WHITING, C. E.—*The University of Durham*, 1832-1932. 345 pp. (Sheldon Press). 16*s*.

The Church of Ireland, 432-1932, 275 pp. (Church of Ireland Publishing Co.). 2*s*.

III. THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL.

WRIGHT, D.—*The Talmud*, 141 pp. (Williams & Norgate). 7*s*. 6*d*.

COCK, W. H.—*Creation and Redemption*, 288 pp. (Skeffington). 7*s*. 6*d*.

PRZYWARA, E.—*A Newman Synthesis*, 379 pp. (Sheed & Ward). 5*s*.

GRIFFITHS, R. G.—*The Necessity of Modernism*, 128 pp. (Skeffington). 3*s*. 6*d*.

ADAM, K.—*Christ our Brother*, 210 pp. (Sheed & Ward). 5*s*. See Review.

MARITAIN, J.—*The Things that are not Caesar's*, 227 pp. (Sheed & Ward). 5*s*. See Review.

RECKITT, M. B.—*Faith and Society*, 467 pp. (Longmans). 15*s*. See Review.

CUMMINS, G.—*The Road to Immortality*, 195 pp. (Nicholson & Watson). 6*s*.

NYGREN, A.—*Agape and Eros*, 187 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 6*s*.

HARDMAN, O.—*The Christian Life, Vol. I*, 404 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 12*s*. 6*d*. See Review.

DAVIES, R.—*A Manual of Buddhism*, 342 pp. (Sheldon Press). 7*s*. 6*d*.

ALLEN, G.—*He that Cometh*, 223 pp. (Maclehose). 5*s*. See Review.

HIRIYANNA, M.—*Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, 419 pp. (Allen & Unwin). 15*s*.

EDWARDS, D. M.—*Christianity and Philosophy*, 367 pp. (T. & T. Clark). 10*s*. 6*d*.

LEVISON, N.—*The Jewish Background of Christianity*, 205 pp. (T. & T. Clark). 5*s*.

LILLEY, A. L.—*Religion and Revelation*, 146 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 4*s*. 6*d*.

RICHARDS, J. R.—*The Religion of the Bahais*, 242 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 7*s*. 6*d*.

ROBERTS, F. E.—*The Christian Character*, 150 pp. (Allenson). 3*s*. 6*d*.

HARDWICK, J. C.—*Freedom and Authority in Religion*, 148 pp. (Skeffington). 3*s*. 6*d*.

MORGAN, J.—*The Psychological Teaching of S. Augustine*, 264 pp. (Elliot Stock). 7*s*. 6*d*.

FOSTER, F. H.—*A Brief Doctrinal Commentary on the Arabic Koran*, 83 pp. (Sheldon Press). 3*s*. See Review.

HEBERT, A. G.—*Intercommunion*, 128 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 2*s*.

STUMP, J.—*The Christian Faith*, 463 pp. (Macmillan). 20*s*.

MICKLEM, P. A.—*Values of the Incarnation*, 160 pp. (S.P.C.K.). 5*s*.

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